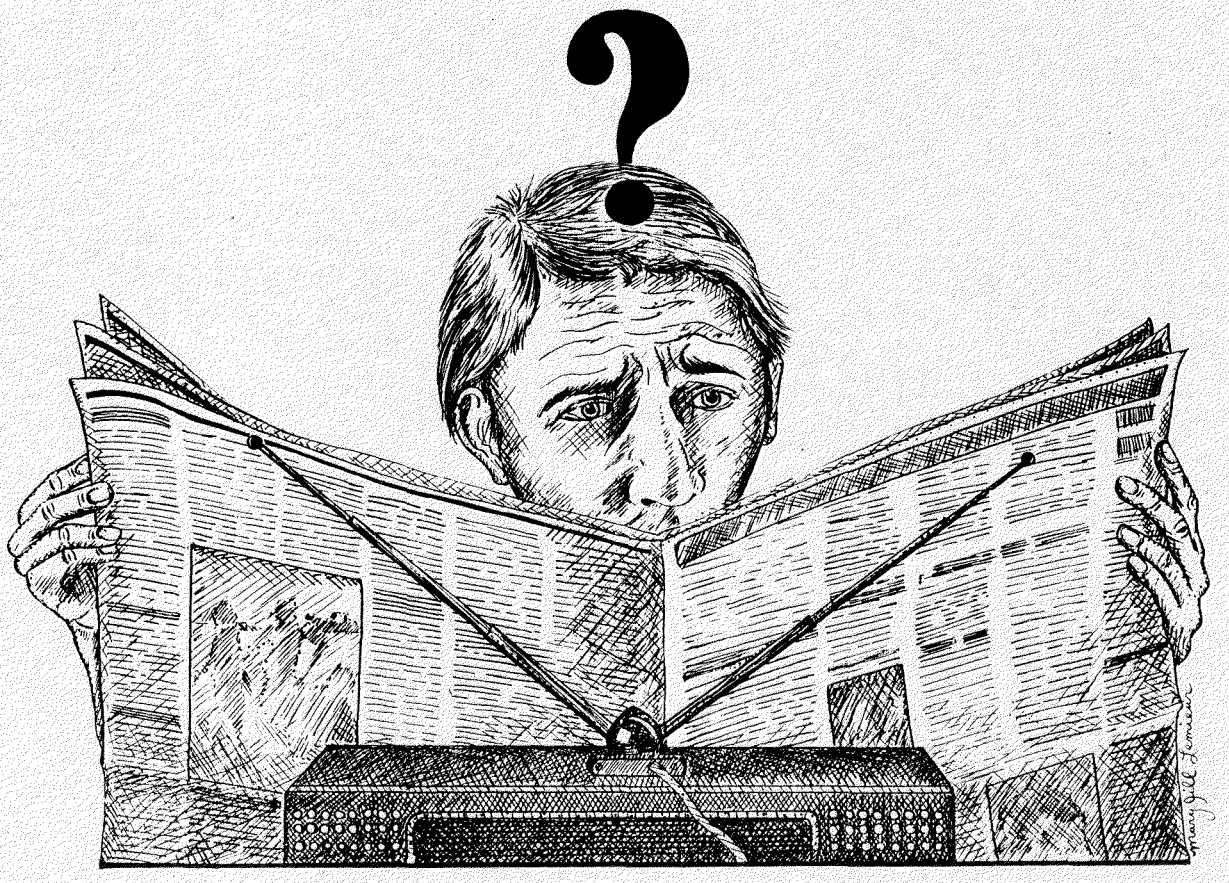
THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Volume VI, Number 3 Spring 1996

Straight Thinking on Immigration



Some Help in Analyzing the Debates

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About The Social Contract

The English philosopher John Locke, whose thinking helped inspire the American revolution, said that society should be governed by an understood set of values he termed "the social contract." Under the social contract, governments have obligations to their citizens, and citizens have responsibilities to society.

Most great public issues are basically moral and ethical ones. What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When "rights" collide, which ones take precedence? The concept of the social contract helps us sort out the difficult issues confronting American society today and helps us find balance.

Each quarter, **The Social Contract** journal examines trends, events and ideas that could unravel America's delicate social fabric. Key topics addressed by this journal:

- *Human population issues, including absolute size, rate of growth and distribution.* Do cherished American ideals prosper or suffer through further population growth?
- *Immigration issues.* In order to best facilitate meeting the highest goals of the American people, (1) how many immigrants should we admit? (2) who should be admitted, and (3) how can we humanely enforce the rules?
- *Language, assimilation, culture and national unity considerations.* What are the shared values necessary to the maintenance of our social contract?
- *The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities.* Since the previous issues are so often framed in terms of rights, what are the balancing obligations?
- *Other nations' efforts at guarding or creating their own social contracts.* What practical insight can be gained from observing the failures and successes in nation-building by other societies?

The Social Contract explores these complex and interrelated issues with articles varying greatly in outlook and philosophy in the attempt to further vigorous public debate.

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

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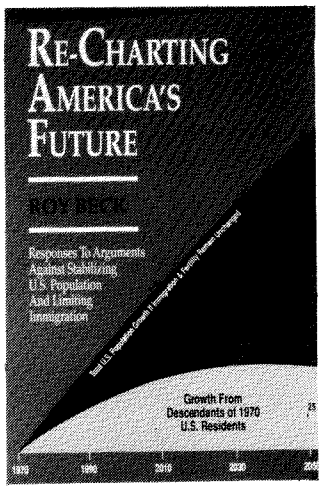

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Letter from the editor

Straight Thinking on Immigration

One of the consolations of working on the immigration question is the up-close exposure it gives to the many foibles of what passes for human reasoning. But hearing pompous politicians opine that "we are a nation of immigrants" can wear after a while. So, the editorial staff of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT decided to undertake a study of logical fallacies in the immigration debate. Our lead-off section is the result.

Part of the impetus for this venture lies with your editor's having taken a course in logic at our community college — too late in life, some have said! My instructor (and the main writer for this section) was David Payne. Dave worked on these materials about immigration reform over the summer of 1995 and then they were vetted at the fall 1995 Writers Workshop. (THE SOCIAL CONTRACT sponsors a workshop for writers each October in Washington, D.C.) With additional polishing since then, we are pleased to present this "guide to straight thinking" on immigration matters.

After Dr. Payne's opening essay you will find two articles analyzed, and another for you to try your hand on. Then we present a checklist of logical fallacies that you can copy and take to discussions to help organize your response (if you are in a debate) or your questions (if you are a member of an audience.) Scip Garling expands, as well, on the topic of logical fallacies and the immigration debate. We hope you will find this novel approach useful and that you will want to pursue the subject further through the suggested readings.

Our second important feature is Brent Nelson's extended review of Henry Pratt Fairchild's 1926 book, *The Melting-Pot Mistake*, done in conjunction with a review of *Beyond the Melting Pot* by Nathan Glazer and Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (1963). Nelson also cites a good many other well known and sometimes contemporary works on the general topics of group formation and conflict, assimilation and the nation-state (and its cohesion). This topic is highly important in today's world, and is further fleshed out with articles by syndicated columnist Scott McConnell, novelist John Zmirak, Canadian reporter Mark Wegierski, and visitor to France Gerda Bikales.

If all this is not enough to keep you awake at night, our third substantive and original section re-examines the Chinese exclusion acts of the late 19th century, as seen by the activists of the time. You will find here a different interpretation than that which we usually encounter today: that those actions were motivated by "racism" — a word that had not even been coined at the time. This section is part of an effort headed by associate editor Wayne Lutton to revisit some of the main works from the turn of the century that advocated immigration restriction. We do not wish to be found in violation of Santayana's famous dictum about not knowing our history.

We round out this issue with an excerpt from our Washington editor Roy Beck's new book *The Case Against Immigration* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1996). We are delighted that the thesis of Beck's book has found reception in major publishing circles such as his op-ed in *The Christian Science Monitor* (March 25), *The Washington Post* (April 21), and a review of his book in *Business Week* (their April 22 issue). Beck has also analyzed the voting records of members of the House of Representatives in the recent debate about immigration reform. Many of our readers will want to know how their representative acted.

Capped off with several reviews of books you will want to know about, this is an issue of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT you may not be able to put down until you have read every word!

John H. Tanton
Editor and Publisher

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Letters from our readers

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Footnotes from Scottish history

Editor:

I am grateful to Joseph Fallon for bringing the book, *America's British Culture*, to the attention of a wider audience (Book review, Winter 1995-96). I, for one, was unaware of this title.

May I, however, correct three historical errors in his otherwise excellent article. Mr. Fallon talks about Madison Grant's ancestors having come to America after "the English defeated the second Jacobite rebellion of the Highland clans at Culloden Moor in 1745."

The forces which defeated the Jacobites were not English but British since the Union of Crowns which created the United Kingdom of Great Britain was in 1603 and the Union of Parliaments which created the British political state was in 1707. In addition, there were four battalions of Scots fighting in the British forces and further militia of Scots (Source: John Prebble, *The Lion in the North*, Penguin, 1981, ©1971, p.307). The Church of Scotland, in particular, was opposed to the rising, not least because it threatened to put a Catholic on the British throne. Not a single minister of the Church of Scotland supported the rising and it is therefore misleading to suggest it was an English/Scots showdown.

It was also the third major rising after those of 1689 and 1715 and the fifth if one includes the failed attempts of Louis XIV in 1708 and Cardinal Alberoni's non-event of 1719. Finally, the battle was, of course, on 16th April 1746, and not 1745.

ALISTAIR M. MCCONNACHIE
Edinburgh, Scotland

English language and the workplace

Editor:

I think your readers will be interested in this "tale from the trenches."

Recently, I received a summons to jury duty in Suffolk Superior Court, here in Boston. The case was perfectly illustrative of the problems created when unskilled, uneducated immigrants arrive here, "ghettoize" themselves and do not endeavor to learn English or otherwise assimilate.

The immigrant, a 24-year old Guatemalan with a sixth-grade education, was working as a temporary worker in a fish-processing plant. He was cleaning a machine which breads fish patties, losing his right thumb and forefinger when he slipped, fell and caught them in a mechanism on the machine. The nature of the accident was itself dubious.

During sworn testimony, we learned that he spoke no English (he used an interpreter in his testimony) and had been given only rudimentary training in cleaning the machine by his supervisor, an Italian immigrant who spoke very little English (he needed an Italian interpreter to testify) and no Spanish. Primarily due to this rudimentary, inadequate "look-see" training, unsafe working conditions and an accident were the result.

Moreover, the immigrant (plaintiff in the case), when cross-examined by the defendant's lawyer as to why he has not bothered to learn English during the three years he has spent in this country said, "I was devoting myself to work."

The reality, as discovered in testimony, was this:

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he arrived in January 1992 (or March, which he said later under cross-examination), went to work at the factory in early April, was injured after barely a month on the job. Between three surgeries, he recuperated and received one hour of physical therapy three times a week. During occupational therapy, he was informed that he could make better progress if he learned English. With all the spare time he had on his hands, he still did not bother.

He is suing the makers of the machine (which we discovered had had only two such reported accidents in 22 years of otherwise safe operation within the Commonwealth Of Massachusetts, both involving immigrants who spoke no English and received rudimentary training in cleaning of the machine) for payment of his medical bills, and for an award for "pain and suffering."

The immigrant, plaintiff in this case, will receive a settlement of $135,000; appeals by the defendants are pending.

This is another result of the dubious "immigration reform" introduced in 1965. The plaintiff had a sixth-grade education, had previously been farming on his father's "postage stamp" farm in Guatemala, and had absolutely no other skills. He came to a country that allowed him to ghettoize himself without learning English or otherwise assimilating; one that, therefore, put him to work at a distinct disadvantage. Knowledge of English, as a condition of employment, would have enabled the plaintiff to get the training required to maintain his work space and do his job safely.

However, the corporation that makes the machine now must pay medical bills, lawyer's fees, and a "pain and suffering" settlement. That cost will eventually be transferred to consumers — those who use the machine, and those of us who consume its final product.

I'm sure some of your readers have similar stories to tell. I'd like to see THE SOCIAL CONTRACT address the workplace-safety aspect of uncontrolled immigration issues, since this is another aspect of uncontrolled immigration's impact upon the economy.

WILLIAM G. JOHNSON, JR.
Dorchester, Massachusetts

Affirmative Action and the California Initiative

Editor:

Regarding James Robb's "Affirmative Action for Immigrants" [THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, Winter 1995-96] and your own editorial: what is surprising is that it took so long for Americans to make the connection between affirmative action programs, massive immigration, and income stagnation or decline for most Americans below the top quintile.

The two most important civil rights laws since the Civil War era were the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Immigration Act of 1965. During the 1970s federal agencies and courts developed affirmative-action procedures requiring preference in jobs and contracts for an expanding list of racial and ethnic minorities. At the same time family unification preferences and chain immigration strategies brought 20 million new arrivals to the U.S., three-fourths of them Hispanic or Asian, and hence qualifying for employment preferences over a majority of American citizens on the basis of ancestry alone — a bizarre outcome that confounds the intention of the Civil Rights Act.

Now that the civil rights initiative will be on the ballot in California in November, we can expect increased attention to the way affirmative-action preferences reward and accelerate immigration from Latin America and Asia while penalizing millions of native-born citizens for incorrect ancestry.

The theme of the Winter 1995-96 THE SOCIAL CONTRACT could scarcely have been more timely.

HUGH DAVIS GRAHAM
Nashville, Tennessee

[**Editors' note**: Dr. Graham, who is a professor of history at Vanderbilt University, is author of *The Civil Rights Era: Origins and Development of National Policy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).]

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Bulletin Board

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT journal and THE SOCIAL CONTRACT PRESS are on the internet. Our address is **www.freeway.net/soccon**. Our home page gives our mission statement, information about THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, a list of books for sale, editorials from several immediately previous issues which highlight the contents of each, plus the internet addresses of other groups working on immigration reform, population control and national unity questions. This home page also hosts the newsletter of the Biocentric Institute edited by William Dickinson.

A number of groups and individuals are coming "on line." Here are the ones we are aware of:

Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) <fair@fairus.org>
Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) <center@cis.org>
Negative Population Growth (NPG) <negpop@soho.ios.com>
Carrying Capacity Network (CCN) <ccn@igc.apc.org>
Californians for Populations Stabilization (CAPS) <caps@calweb.com>
Philip Martin publishes *Migration News* <migrant@primal.ucdavis.edu> and as well at <gopher://dual.ucdavis.edu>
Norman Matloff (professor) has many articles and a great deal of data: <heather.cs.ucdavis.edu/pub/Immigration/Index/html>
And, of course, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT's e-mail address: <soccon@freeway.net> We'd like to hear from you.

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Now in its sixth year, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is able to provide copies of prior issues to those who are interested in a specific topic or who wish to complete their collection of the journal.

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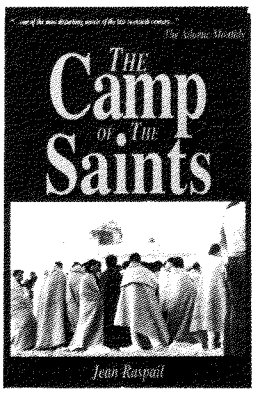

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The Logic of Illogic

Straight Thinking on Immigration

by David G. Payne

> *We come to the full possession of our power of drawing inferences, the last of all our faculties; for it is not so much a natural gift as a long and difficult art.*
>
> — C.S. Peirce, Fixation of Belief

The American logician Charles Sanders Peirce believed logical prowess to be a developed skill more than an inherited trait. The survival value of abiding by certain fundamental laws of logic has, no doubt, enhanced the rationality of Homo sapiens' gene pool under the ever-watchful eye of natural selection; yet the further ability to analyze and distinguish proper from improper inferences is one that is developed over many years of hard work. I think Peirce would also agree that the majority of persons never develop such an ability, and from this we might infer that there are many more people engaged in illogic than logic. This is too bad, since logic, properly understood, is an all-important tool in any search for truth.

If, then, illogic reigns supreme, should we not study illogical forms of reasoning as closely as we study logical forms? I think we should, and this article is a brief introduction to such a study — a first step for those interested in learning how to distinguish between good and bad argumentation.

In the first section, I will begin by briefly answering the question of why we should bother to take the time and go to the effort of analyzing arguments in a critical fashion. In the second, examples of various fallacies will be presented in order to give a feel for how such things work. Since the confines of this article will not allow a detailed examination of a great many of fallacies (and there are a great many), I will concentrate on but a few representative samples. In the final section, I will consider whether we are ever justified in using logical fallacies to our advantage.

David G. Payne teaches logic and philosophy at North Central Michigan College in Petoskey, Michigan. His Ph.D. in philosophy is from the University of Miami. Before taking up his current post he served for four years as president and CEO of a community bank in Florida.

I. Why Bother?

If I may answer a question with a question, the response to "Why Bother?" when applied to any specific issue is "Are you interested in the truth of that issue?" In other words, do you care whether your positions on various issues are true or do you hold them just because you always have? If the latter is true, then stop reading — you shouldn't bother. But if the former is the case, i.e., if you *are* concerned that your position on an issue is not merely comfortable, but also firmly based on the facts, then you *must* bother, for that is the only way to consistently achieve such an end.

If you are mining for gold, a pickax might be the tool of choice as you search for the mother lode. If you are seeking truth, logic is the tool of choice. Not just *a* tool of choice, but *the* tool of choice. The reason for this is simple. If you decide not to use logic (rational argumentation) in your search, then you have only one other choice — illogic (irrational argumentation). An irrational argument might result in the truth, but only if you are extremely lucky.

To illustrate, suppose you are looking for radiation leaks in containers of radioactive material. The tool of choice in such cases is a Geiger counter. But suppose you disdain such things, claiming that your intuition alone will enable you to find the leaks. Based on this you point to a container and proclaim that it is leaking radiation. You might be correct, but if so it will have been a lucky guess, because there is nothing about your method that insures that you can consistently find leaking radioactive containers.

Here is the point: for any given issue there are

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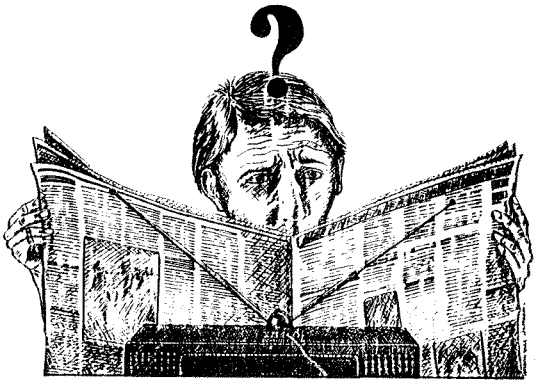
a great many irrational arguments parading around in the clothes of reason; and if you are persuaded by such deceit (unless you are extremely lucky), you will end up with false beliefs about the world. Thus, you must be able to distinguish good arguments from bad arguments.

Another case in point: advertising. Most of us are not gullible enough to be deceived by the claims of advertisers, but the methods they use can be instructive. Advertisements, contrary to what we might think, are not designed to enlighten us with truths about the world. They are, instead, designed to persuade us to buy a product. But this goal is often cleverly hidden by a seemingly scientific appeal to factual claims.



Consider the dandruff shampoo commercial that claims a certain product works better than its rival because "you can feel it tingle." We are supposed to draw the conclusion that our scalp is tingling *because* the shampoo is actually working on our dandruff problem, and, since the rival product *doesn't* make your scalp tingle, it therefore does not work. Against this claim we might point out that sulfuric acid might also make your scalp tingle, but it doesn't follow from this that it would help your dandruff. Thus, there is no necessary causal connection between tingling and dandruff removal. For all we know, the tingling ingredient is entirely neutral, or may even engender dandruff. Its only benefit is that it allows those marketing the product to make a claim that separates their product from its rivals.

Then there is Bayer's infamous claim that their aspirin "contains an ingredient doctors recommend most," a claim designed to show why their aspirin is preferable to other brands of aspirin. The claim is absolutely true, but what they *don't* say is that the ingredient doctors recommend most is simply aspirin itself, available in many formulations. Here again, an apparent factual claim is nothing more than a persuasive device.

We might laugh at these examples (even though they may point to a serious lack of morality in business practices), since nothing of significance really hangs on the issues involved. Your dandruff problem might be important, and you might buy one brand because it tingles thinking that it will therefore work better. But no matter — one brand probably works as well as any other brand. The same is true of aspirin. The additives do little if anything to help aspirin relieve pain — they are chiefly marketing ploys, and your pain will be relieved (if it will be relieved at all) by any brand.

But not all issues are so insignificant. It should give us pause, for example, when we learn that politicians are hiring the same firms that put together aspirin commercials to run their campaign advertising. The politician's message is clear: truth is of secondary importance, above all, get me elected! In this context we are not so amused, for the issues involved in politics have real consequences for our lives. When it comes to campaign rhetoric it is important to be able to disentangle good arguments from bad.

The same is true of any issue that has practical ramifications that we deem important. If we are not careful, we *will* be deceived because most people arguing for a position are far more concerned with convincing us than enlightening us.

If you are unable or unwilling to separate good arguments from bad, and thus unable or unwilling to distinguish truths from falsehoods, you are being manipulated. To have your beliefs and actions manipulated is to be controlled by some-one other than yourself, and when this happens you are, in a very real sense, no longer free.

Suppose, for instance, that I put you in a room and tell you convincingly that I am going to lock you in that room — you will not be able to leave until I return and let you out. Since you are convinced by what I have said, you sit passively and await my return. Unbeknownst to you, however, I lied. The door is not locked, and you could leave at any time; but you don't leave since you sincerely believe that the door is locked. In this situation there are two

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senses of "freedom" at work. On the one hand, you are free to leave at any time since the door is not locked and there is nothing physically stopping you. On the other hand, there is a sense in which you are not free at all — since you have believed false information about the world, you are effectively in chains. To disdain critical thinking is to become putty in the hands of an artful debater.

Returning to our original question: why bother to learn how to analyze arguments and think critically? We now see that there are at least two excellent reasons why. **First**, because doing so helps to insure that the beliefs that we hold on important issues are true rather than false. **Second**, because doing so helps to insure that we are not being held prisoner by the rhetoric of others, that we are in control of our own lives as much as is humanly possible.

Don't be discouraged by Peirce's claim that learning logic is the task of a lifetime. Even the beginner soon acquires more ability to distinguish good arguments from bad than someone who never bothers to try. Thus, even a little knowledge of logic will render us better off than no knowledge at all. As time goes by we continually add to our repertoire, becoming more and more adept at argumentation in the process.

II. Some Typical Fallacies

A logical fallacy, for our purposes, is simply a mistake in reasoning. In an introduction such as this all the many different types of logical fallacies cannot possibly be delineated. Instead, we will concentrate on a few and use these to show, in general, what can go wrong within arguments, i.e., why conclusions don't always follow from their premises.

A. Ad Hominem Fallacies.

Many people are familiar with *ad hominem* fallacies, the most well-known of which is "*ad hominem* abusive," in which an opponent's character is abused rather than his argument. We will look at an example of this below; but first, we will begin with another form known as "*ad hominem* circumstantial." The nerve of this fallacy is to attempt to show that an opponent is inconsistent — that his own actions in some way contradict his words. For example, in response to an argument that illegal immigrants are taking jobs that Americans might otherwise fill, an opponent might respond as follows:

(1) You have the gall to stand there and argue that illegal immigrants are taking jobs away from Americans when you have already admitted to having hired an illegal immigrant as a housekeeper. What a hypocrite!

This can be a very effective response in a debate — sometimes it is impossible to resist making such responses — but it is a fallacy none-theless. The arguer might very well be a hypocrite, but being a hypocrite has absolutely nothing to do with whether or not his argument is valid. Just as an atheist can put forth a valid argument for the existence of God, so also a person who has an illegal immigrant for a housekeeper can give an excellent argument against illegal immigration — an argument that needs to be dealt with, not ignored. Notice how the *ad hominem* response side-tracks the issue by changing the focus from the actual issue and the facts surrounding it to a completely different (irrelevant) issue. Hence, the fallacy in trying to counter an opponent merely by showing that there is an inconsistency between words and deeds.

Let's turn now to an *ad hominem* abusive argument. Suppose the following response is given to an argument previously put forth:

(2) The arguments put forth by Mr. X simply cannot be believed. He has admitted to lying before, has been convicted of perjury on several occasions, and has spent the last eight years in prison.

Does Mr. X's past record have any relevance with respect to his present arguments? In this case, it seems it might. As in a trial when a lawyer tries to defame a witness, an argument such as (2) might give us valid reasons for doubting the arguments given by Mr. X. But in fact, this example is really no different from (1). Mr. X's argument should stand or fall on its own merits — questions regar-ding the veracity of Mr. X are irrelevant except as a warning that we should check his *facts* carefully.

A useful test with respect to any *ad hominem* argument is to suppose the argument had been given by a completely different person with none of the character flaws ascribed to the present individual. If the argument works for such a person,

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then it will work for the present person, character flaws notwithstanding. Arguments are independent of the character flaws of their propounders.

Moral: the problem with *ad hominem* arguments lies in their introducing material that is irrelevant to the argument at hand. In this sense, every such argument is a red herring, leading the unwary on a wild goose chase — they confuse the issue; and in the confusion, often seem to make a valid point. This ploy is typical of many fallacies, and to avoid falling into this trap, we must always be alert to that which would lead us astray.

B. AD POPULUM FALLACIES.

Another fallacy worth mentioning is the *argumentum ad populum*, or "appeal to the masses." Here, support by large numbers of people is appealed to in order to prove a point which can really only be proved by an appeal to facts. The following is an argument that purports to prove that immigration is destroying the fabric of American society:

(3) Polls show that eight out of ten Americans are convinced that immigration is destroying the very fabric of our American society. What better proof could there be?

It might very well be true that immigration is destroying the fabric of American society, but this argument does not prove it. Great numbers of people are often wrong. (Think of the number of people through the years who thought that the earth was the center of the universe.) There is no logical connection between how many people believe something and whether or not that something is true.

But take care — sometimes it might be relevant to cite such numbers. For example, suppose that instead of purporting to prove that immigration is destroying the fabric of American society, (3) is used to support an argument that our legislators should re-examine their positions with respect to immigration. There would be no fallacy involved in such an argument since the opinions of the American people are (or at least should be) relevant to the legislation of the country.

Moral: the context in which an argument is used can be all-important for determining its worth. We must understand exactly what is being proved in an argument in order to determine the relevance of the argument's premises.

C. CAUSAL FALLACIES.

Another oft-used fallacy is one generally referred to as the "false cause" fallacy. A false cause fallacy occurs when a person assumes that a causal connection exists between two events, and bases an argument upon such a connection when it doesn't really exist. There are many varieties of this fallacy. Here is a simple one in which a long list of the positive benefits of limiting immigration is concluded with the following statement:

(4) Ever since the Immigration Act was enacted in 1965, the federal deficit has been growing at a tremendous rate. Thus another benefit of limiting immigration will be a reduction in the federal deficit.

To simply assume a one-to-one correlation between immigration and the federal deficit is a giant leap of faith. Even if we grant that there may be some connection, it does not follow that immigration is the sole contributor in such a way that a lessening of immigration would automatically cause a decline in the deficit. More likely causes for the rise of the deficit are other measures, put in place around the same time period, that are more relevant to the rise of the deficit.

Sadly, from a logical point of view, at the same time that legislation is passed limiting immigration, legislation will probably also be passed for a balanced budget. Thus, the two will be seen to decline together as they rose together, and our illogical arguer will take this as further evidence of the causal connection between the two.

In defense of those falling prey to the false cause fallacy, cause and effect relationships can be very complex. It might be that the socio-political climate of the U.S. was such that the legislative measures that increased the federal deficit really were related to legislation having to do with immigration. Such relationships would be very difficult to prove, and certainly could not be assumed. Failure to adequately appreciate the complexity of the world has led many fine thinkers into the false cause fallacy.

Moral: oversimplification is a common downfall in argumentation. We tend to opt for the easy solution — the "obvious" connection between two events. It takes mental effort and discipline to avoid such lazy rationalizing.

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D. ANALOGICAL FALLACIES.

As a last example I want to use one of the most common forms of argumentation found in everyday life: an argument from analogy. We use analogies hundreds of time every day. For example, the brands of food, clothes, cars, and other items that we buy are usually chosen based on analogical arguments: my last car was a Ford and it was a great car, therefore, probably, if I buy another Ford, it, too, will be a great car. Examples such as this are almost beyond number.

The central theme of an analogy is to show a similarity between one or several items with which we are familiar and another item that is in question. If those several items are similar to the one in question and we like the several items, we conclude that we will also probably like the one in question. Of course, many things can go wrong. Here's an example of analogy gone wrong:

(5) **People like you have been prophesying for two hundred years that immigration is going to do great harm to America. You've never been right yet. So, I don't see why I should think you might be right now.**

This person looks at past examples where individuals have prophesied dire consequences if immigration is not curtailed. Those examples have the further property of being prophecies that never came true. These past examples are compared with present prophecies, the similarities are noted between them, and then the conclusion is drawn: therefore, probably, today's prophecies will not come true either.

The problem with this example is that one reason the past prophecies did not come true is because those prophecies were heeded in the past — immigration was curtailed because of them. The characteristic of having been heeded is a significant characteristic of those past prophecies. Had this been taken into consideration no analogy would have been drawn between the past and the present prophecies since present prophecies are, by definition, neither heeded nor unheeded. Thus, that one characteristic makes the past and the present prophecies disanalogous instead of analogous, and ruins the inference. This is just one of many different ways in which an analogy can go wrong.

Moral: the threads of analogy often run deep — a fact that cuts both ways. The most diverse events can be made to seem analogous by leaving out relevant characteristics. When drawing analogies we should never forget the importance of the differences (as well as the similarities) between the items being compared.

E. THE PRINCIPLE OF CHARITY.

In our zeal to find fallacies in the arguments of our opponents, we often misinterpret their arguments. Sometimes we want to see a fallacy so badly that we make one appear when it is not really there. To avoid this, I urge the adoption of what is known among philosophers as the "principle of charity." This principle holds that we should always interpret an opponent's argument in terms most favorable to the opponent (though I will hedge on this below).

Suppose that, upon reading an argument, we are unclear how it should be taken. Interpreted one way, we could easily destroy the argument; interpreted another it would be much harder to counter. The principle of charity in such cases demands that we take the latter, more difficult interpretation. This for two related reasons: First, if an opponent has been misinterpreted, he can easily rebut merely by pointing out the misinterpretation. Second, and more important, by refuting the harder position much more damage has been inflicted on the opponent's position.

In this section we have examined several arguments that contain logical fallacies. The fallacies illustrated are typical in that they exhibit what often goes wrong in arguments that do not work, and I have used them to illustrate several points. *First*, that we should beware of being led astray by irrelevancies, no matter how tempting. *Second*, that the context of an argument is extremely important in judging its worth. *Third*, that oversimplifying a complex situation can lead to egregious logical error. *Fourth*, that only exhaustive analysis can insure that our arguments are not running roughshod over subtle charac-teristics that can make or break an inference.

III. USE AND ABUSE

I have admitted above that fallacies can be very powerful — does this mean that we are foregoing an important tool if we do not include them in our

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debating arsenal? Does the end justify the means when engaged in an argument? I will lay bare my thoughts on this issue, but ultimately how one deals with such issues will depend upon one's own personal morality.

In order to present my case I must first make explicit a distinction that was made implicitly in section one above. The distinction is between two types of argument: **arguments of fact** and **arguments of persuasion**. An argument of fact is an argument the goal of which is to prove a specific proposition. An argument that uses demographic statistics to try to establish that immigration is actually contributing to the rise of crime in America would be an argument of fact. The success of the argument depends upon whether or not the point has been satisfactorily proved.

In contrast, arguments of persuasion are *not* trying to establish the truth of a specific proposition. Instead, as we saw above with respect to advertising, they are used to attempt to persuade an individual or group of individuals that a proposition is true. Usually, the arguer is either already convinced of the truth of the proposition or doesn't care about the truth, and is simply trying to convey his certainty to the audience.

Perhaps the most famous example of an argument of persuasion is the one known as "Pascal's Wager." Pascal was a 17th century mathematician/theologian who tried to convince his audience to believe in the existence of God with the following argument: If you believe in God, and there is a God, then eternal bliss is yours. If you believe in God, and it turns out you were wrong, no harm was done — you lived a good life. On the other hand, if you do not believe in God and you are wrong, you will spend eternity in hell; while if you are right, nothing is either lost or gained. Thus, you have everything to gain and nothing to lose by believing in God, and everything to lose and nothing to gain by not believing. Pascal's conclusion? "Take the holy water, have the masses said." This type of argument is convincing to many people, but note that it is not an argument for the existence of God, but rather an argument used to persuade someone to believe in God.

What distinguishes the two types of arguments, then, is the goal of the person giving them. If the goal is truth, an argument of fact is used. If the only goal is to persuade, an argument of persuasion is used.

Now back to the question at hand. My position is this:

(P) If we are ever justified in knowingly using a logical fallacy, it is only when our goal is to persuade.

"Anyone who goes into a debate thinking that the goal is to seek the truth of the issues is naive."

Notice the "if." There may be times, even when the goal is to persuade, that advantage should not be taken of an opportunity to use a logical fallacy, for whatever reason. It does not follow from (P) that we are always justified in using logical fallacies in such situations. It *does* follow from (P), though, that we are never justified in using fallacies when our goal is truth. In fact, if a logical fallacy is knowingly used, it would be hard to justify that the goal really was the truth as opposed to persuasion. There are certain situations where it is understood that mere persuasion is *never* a proper goal, such as in most scholarly journals and discussions.

Public debates are good examples of situations in which the goal is to persuade. Anyone who goes into a public debate thinking that the goal is to seek out the truth of the issues is naive. Furthermore, in a public debate, those refusing to knowingly use logical fallacies when opportunities to do so are present may not only be putting themselves at a disadvantage (since their opponents more than likely will not have similar compunctions), but may also not be doing all that is ethically required to promote the truth (assuming that there is an ethical responsibility to promote the truth of issues that affect people's lives in important ways).

Since I mentioned the principle of charity above, I now hedge, as promised, and contend that *the principle does not apply in public debates.* This is because the principle is inconsistent with the no-holds-barred approach of the debate. Thus, its use is determined by the same distinction that determines the use of logical fallacies. We can say,

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then, that whenever it is impermissible to knowingly use logical fallacies (because the truth is being sought), the principle of charity applies. Conversely, whenever it is permissible knowingly to use logical fallacies (because the goal is persuasion), then the principle of charity does not apply. Very effective persuasive points can be scored with an audience in a debate by disregarding the principle, e.g., by mocking or ridiculing an opponent's (misinterpreted) argument. Even if the opponent proceeds to correct the misinterpretation, the damage has often been done — as when a judge tells jurors to disregard the damaging testimony of a witness.

Illogic is often most effectively countered by illogic. We have seen, though, that truth is impervious to illogic, i.e., irrational argumentation will not consistently lead to truths about the world. Truths accidentally stumbled upon by means of illogic are thus ill-gotten, and will not yield further gain. Critical thinking is necessary in order to properly battle illogic, and so becomes the tool not only of the seeker of truth, but also of the persuader of masses. □

Further Reading

Barry, Vincent E. *Invitation to Critical Thinking.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984. A plain English logic textbook with fallacies organized in an interesting way. Well worth reading.

Chase, Stuart. *Guides to Straight Thinking.* New York: Harper & Row, 1956. The best of the bunch for the neophyte — clear and entertaining. Out of print, but worth looking for.

Chase, Stuart. "A Tip on Straight Thinking," *Readers Digest,* February 1954. "Tips on Straight Thinking, II," *Readers Digest,* June, 1954. "Tips on Straight Thinking, III," *Readers Digest,* October, 1954. "Neither Black Nor White," *Readers Digest,* January, 1955.

Copi, Irving and Carl Cohen. *Introduction to Logic.* New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1994. A classic logic textbook. Very precisely written.

Fearnside, W. Ward and William B. Holther. *Fallacy: The Counterfeit of Argument.* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1961. An entire book devoted to fallacies. Worth perusing, although the later sections on formal fallacies may be a bit too abstract for the novice.

Flage, Daniel E. *Understanding Logic.* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1995. A more intuitive organization of fallacies than Copi's makes this an interesting textbook, but a textbook nonetheless.

Logical Analysis Checklist

Here is a list of questions designed to help determine whether an author or speaker is using persuasive techniques or common linguistic ploys to convince his audience, rather than sound argumentation. If the answer to any of the questions is yes, then it is possible that the technique or fallacy in brackets is being used.

1. Are there any factual errors? [errors of fact, false analogy, questionable evidence]
2. Are there any ambiguous words and/or phrases that confuse the issues? [ambiguity, equivocation]
3. Are there any relevant *omissions*? [biased reporting, half-truths]
4. Have any groups, individuals, or institutions been appealed to as authoritative that are in fact not really relevant? [inappropriate authority, testimonials, appeal to popularity or tradition]
5. Have *individuals* been attacked or accused of inconsistencies? [ad hominem]
6. Has a position been associated with a specific word, subject, person or organization?
   A. A *distasteful* word, subject, etc.? [guilt by association, innuendo, scare tactics, scare words]
   B. A *popular* word, subject, etc.? [bandwagon, appeal to emotion]
7. Have any claims been made that simply do not follow from the evidence given? [non-sequitur, unwarranted claim, irrelevant conclusion]
8. Have any unjustified causal claims been made? [*Post hoc, ergo propter hoc,* causal oversimplification, slippery slopes that are not slippery]
9. Have the emotions been appealed to in any way? [appeal to emotion, popularity, or pity]
10. Have any other linguistic tricks been used? [statistical trickery, misleading quantification, confusion by obfuscation]
11. Have any diversionary tactics been used to try to distract from important considerations? [ad hominem, humor or ridicule, appeal to fear or force, red herrings]
12. Have contrary positions been misrepresented? [error of fact, straw man]

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Abraham Blocks

Analysis by David Payne

This op-ed by Mary Lou Tanton appeared in The Detroit News, *Thursday, January 25, 1996, page 11A. Is it an argument of fact or persuasion as distinguished by David Payne on page* 169?

BALD ASSERTION
What polls? Cited where? Published when?

UNCERTAIN PREDICTION
Adding the word "likely" here would reduce the impression of omniscience. The future remains unknown.

SOURCELESS QUOTATION
Source of this quote? With no reference to allow verification a quotation can be either misquoted or radically taken out of context.

FORCED CONCLUSIONS
Arguing that a person must hold a specific position because of other positions held is always speculative. There may be further reasons why Abraham doesn't feel led to these conclusions, or he may admit to being forced to agree with these points, but also hold that they are preferable to other, worse alternatives. Both of these are legitimate responses.

Recent polls show that more than four-fifths of all Americans believe our immigration policy should be overhauled. Congress finally is getting ready to enact meaningful immigration reform after years of ignoring a policy that, during the 1990s, will add to the U.S. population legal and illegal immigrants equal in number to twice the population of Michigan.

Unfortunately, a chief stumbling block to the reform effort may be Sen. Spencer Abraham, R-Mich.

The immigration reform legislation being proposed by Sen. Alan Simpson, R-Wyo., and Congressman Lamar Smith, R-Texas, would limit family-based immigration to the immediate nuclear family; make sponsors (not the U.S. taxpayer) financially liable for the immigrants they bring to this country; reduce legal immigration levels to 585,000 annually; and establish a verification procedure to make sure that illegal aliens don't work or collect benefits in this country. These reforms, in Abraham's view, violate "core principles of more freedom and less government."

Certainly, we all can agree that an immigrant should be permitted to bring a spouse and never-married minor children. But we also must recognize that immigrants make a conscious choice to separate from their extended families. Abraham apparently believes that when somebody voluntarily chooses to settle here, it becomes our responsibility to have a policy mechanism in place that allows immigrants to have their entire extended families follow them.

Aside from the fact that most Americans do not share this sense of obligation, the promise of endless extended family reunification is ultimately an unfulfillable one. By promising immigration entitlements to brothers and sisters, adult children and parents, we are creating an ever-expanding chain of migration.

Abraham also takes exception to the provision of the Simpson-Smith bills that allows 25,000 parents of immigrants to settle here, on the condition that the sponsoring children purchase nursing home and Medicare-comparable insurance for them. By his reckoning, asking children who bring their elderly parents to this country to assume responsibility for their needs qualifies as anti-family regulations.

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Immigration Reform

Despite his passion for cutting social programs, Abraham ignores the fact that in the past decade the number of elderly immigrants who collect Supplemental Security Income has quadrupled.

Perhaps the greatest anathema to libertarians is the requirement that an electronic verification process be established to screen illegal aliens out of our labor force. Abraham frets that this is the encroachment of Big Brother and that the cost of setting up and using such a system constitutes another unfunded federal mandate.

Virtually everyone who has looked at the problem of illegal immigration agrees that jobs are the magnet that draws illegal aliens to this country. To control illegal immigration, we must have a way for law-abiding employers (and most are) to verify if a job applicant is legally entitled to work in the United States. This is not Big Brother encroaching on our privacy — all this information is already in countless public and private data bases — but a common sense measure to protect American jobs. As to the expense, there would no doubt be some start-up costs for such a system. But once in place, employment verifications would be carried out for mere pennies, in much the same way that credit cards are verified.

According to Abraham's Republican colleague, Sen. Paul Coverdell of Georgia, immigration is the most expensive of all federal unfunded mandates. State and local governments bear the brunt of the costs of providing education, health care, housing assistance and countless other essential services to immigrants, both illegal and legal.

The kind of future that most Americans want to bequeath to their children is a high-wage economy, a first rate education system, a compassionate safety net, a stable population size and a healthy environment. None of these goals can be realized if we continue the kind of free-for-all immigration policies of the past three decades.

On immigration, Sen. Spencer Abraham confuses less government with no government. Limiting immigration to immediate family members, requiring sponsors to assume financial responsibility for the people they bring to this country and controlling access to the U.S. labor market are examples of good government — which is precisely what people want.

MISLEADING QUANTIFICATION
Other phrases for "virtually everyone" and "most Americans" are "not everyone" and "not all Americans," but by phrasing in this manner the *appearance* of universality is given.

NON-SEQUITUR
The information enclosed within the dashes here is supposed to show that this is not Big Brother encroaching on our privacy. But this does not follow. Some people might argue that such information *just is* evidence that Big Brother is always encroaching on our privacy.

APPEAL TO INAPPROPRIATE AUTHORITY
Who is Paul Coverdell that we should rely on what he says? Does he have any specific credentials or qualifications that confer authority in this matter?

GUILT BY ASSOCIATION (WITH A TWIST)
Here's an effective technique! By associating the points you are arguing for with something that everyone wants, you can then conclude that everyone must want what you're arguing for. Thus, the unstated conclusion: limiting immigration, etc., is precisely what people want.

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Analysis by David Payne

This editorial appeared in The Detroit News, *Thursday, January 25, 1996., apparently in response to MaryLou Tanton's op-ed, printed on the immediately preceding pages.*

1-800-Big

Congress will attempt to tackle immigration "reform" this month and next. But House and Senate proposals prescribe the wrong antidotes to the wrong symptoms for the wrong reasons. Consequently, American citizens stand to lose liberties while netting more intrusive government.

Border states with considerable elector clout—including California, Texas and Florida—are demanding federal protection against the illegal immigrants supposedly swarming America's southern borders. While some 250,000 illegals (a mere 1.5 percent of the population) enter the country annually, their economic and cultural impact is widely disputed. But border state governors have expertly milked the issue.

Congress last took a crack at immigration reform in 1986. The effort failed to accomplish anything except make the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) even more ineffective. That experience evidently is lost on today's "reformers."

Both the House and Senate measures would increase border patrols, tax the hiring of foreign workers and require employers to clear every hire with the government. Legal immigration would also be limited by reducing quotas and eliminating the preference for family members such as adult children, siblings and parents.

The House bill should come to the floor by mid-March; the Senate Judiciary Committee will act on a companion bill this month. That these proposals have survived thus far testifies to lawmakers' immigration illiteracy and the savvy of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), which leads the anti-immigration crusade.

FAIR's agenda is broad. Founder John Tanton, a Petoskey ophthalmologist, advocates zero population growth (and has complained that too many immigrants are Roman Catholic). Meanwhile, FAIR has received more than $1 million from the Pioneer Fund, which has advocated "race betterment" through eugenics.

INNUENDO
"Supposedly" is a weasel word, the use of which is supposed to throw doubts upon even well-documented truths without giving any real evidence.

ERROR OF FACT
The 250,000 is an estimate of the *net* increase in the number of illegals living in the U.S. Many times this number enter and then return home.

STATISTICAL TRICKERY
There is nothing "mere" about 250,000 illegal aliens. (The figure is probably twice this "official" figure.) Note how a percentage is used to make the figure seem small!

UNPROVED ASSERTION
It is a bold claim indeed to say that the ineffectiveness of the INS was the only accomplishment of the 1986 reforms.

NON-SEQUITUR
To say that because a reform failed previously it therefore should not be attempted again is ludicrous. Civil rights reformers didn't have this attitude in the 1950s and 1960s.

AD HOMINEM ARGUMENTS
Two good examples of *ad hominem* arguments. The first, directed against Tanton is of the abusive variety; the second, against FAIR, of the circumstantial. For more on this distinction see the article on the Logic of Illogic in this issue.

GUILT BY ASSOCIATION
Since "eugenics" is perceived as having pejorative connotations, these same connotations are applied to FAIR by associating that organizatiuon with the term, however unfairly.

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Brother

Ironically, the "reforms" would heap yet more responsibility on the very agency that has proved least effective in controlling illegal immigration. The INS budget has increased 71 percent in the past two years, but its failures are legendary: a backlog of 450,000 asylum applications, failure to deport foreign criminals and inaction on about 36,000 illegal hiring cases.

This is hardly the agency to oversee, as proposed, every hiring decision in the land (an estimated 65 million annually). But a federal worker registry—requiring a national ID system keyed to retina scans, fingerprints or facial heat emissions—is precisely what FAIR and many in Congress support.

Such legislative foolishness is largely fueled by deep-rooted misconceptions about immigration, namely, that immigrants steal jobs, drain state and federal treasuries, and taint the culture.

In fact, the median unemployment rate in states with the largest immigrant populations was 5.1 percent, compared with 6.6 percent in the 10 states with the lowest immigrant populations. Economist George Gilder estimates that real living standards would be at least 40 percent lower without the immigrant flow of the past 50 years.

Nor are immigrants—illegal or otherwise—to blame for the welfare state upon which far more citizens are dependent than aliens. And it is the left's embrace of ethnic entitlement, not immigrants, which encourages bilingualism and discourages assimilation within American society.

Sen. Spencer Abraham has proposed more reasonable reforms (see adjacent letter). Ultimately, however, the worst immigration problems in the United States are the performance of the INS—and the attitude of those who deny there is incalculable benefit to be derived from brave and ambitious people seeking freedom and opportunity. □

SCARE WORDS
The title invokes "Big Brother" in hopes that the immigration issues within the article will be inextricably linked to big government and its excesses as portrayed in George Orwell's novel, *1984*, where the phrase appeared. This connection is furthered by speaking of ID systems, etc. Not mentioned is the less explosive sounding Social Security card.

BIASED REPORTING
The reason *why* the INS was the least effective is that Congress has never provided it with either the monetary or the judicial power to enforce the laws that were passed.

UNPROVED CAUSAL CORRELATION
The mere correlation of unemployment rates with immigrant population figures is not sufficient to prove that there is a connection here.

CONTRARY-TO-FACT GUESSING
How could he possibly know this? Trying to calculate how things "would have been if..." is doomed to almost certain failure due to the complexities of unknown causal factors. This claim boils down to nothing more than a guess.

BLINDING FLASH OF THE OBVIOUS
It's hardly surprising that far more citizens are on welfare than aliens since there are far more citizens than aliens. Here a percentage figure would be helpful, but it is not used. One wonders why.

APPEAL TO EMOTIONS
If it takes bravery to leave squalid conditions, board a plane and enter a land of promise, then, yes, these are very brave people. "Incalculable" simply means that we cannot calculate the benefits. Since we cannot, caution should be invoked until such benefits are ascertained.

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Sealed Borders

Editor's Note: This is Senator Spencer Abraham's response to Mary Lou Tanton's op-ed piece on pages 170-1. Try your hand at analyzing this article and then compare with our analysis on page 176.

Mary Lou Tanton is correct to note that Americans demand immigration reform ("Abraham blocks immigration reform," Jan. 25). But the American people want Congress to take on illegal immigration before addressing legal immigration.

I support some parts of S. 1394, the immigration bill Ms. Tanton espouses. Unfortunately, the bill aims in large part at legal immigrants and would end up punishing American citizens.

Should S. 1394 become law, Michiganians who are full U.S. citizens could no longer bring their adult children to this country. But non-citizens, including former illegal aliens, could bring in more of their relatives. This is unconscionable. Overall, Americans would find it much harder, if not impossible, to bring to this country their parents, adult children and siblings.

The bill also would subject American workers to a federal identity verification system. Parents would be required to personalize their children's birth certificates with "biometric data", such as fingerprints, retina scans or facial heat emission scans. This data would end up in a Washington data bank.

Every employer would have to ask permission of a new federal bureaucracy before hiring anyone, costing jobs for all Americans. Sixty-five million hiring decisions are made each year. A 1-percent error rate would deny 650,000 Americans their jobs. This danger, along with concern for Americans' privacy, has led the National Federation of Independent Business (the nation's largest small-business group), the National Rifle Association and various Christian family groups to oppose the ID system.

Finally, S. 1394 would cost jobs by imposing new taxes and regulations on our businesses. In addition to added verification costs, the bill would impose a new border tax. This would devastate Michigan businesses, and tourism in particular.

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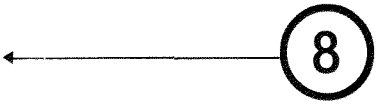
Imprison Liberty

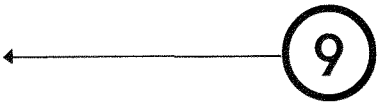
The Ambassador Bridge is the busiest border crossing point in America. Thus Gov. Engler objects to this provision, as do the Detroit Chamber of Commerce, the Michigan Transportation Commission, Wayne State University's Detroit Medical Center and numerous border communities and business groups.

Rather than attempting to punish people who seek to build a better life for themselves by contributing to our society, and rather than punishing Michiganians with ill-advised taxes and bureaucratic rules imposed by Washington, we should focus on the real problem: illegal immigration.

This is why I have introduced a bill to stop the flow of illegal immigrants. S. 1535 would beef up border patrols, dictate that aliens who commit crimes be deported expeditiously, make those who have overstayed their visas ineligible for additional visas for three years and, most important of all, deny welfare benefits to illegal immigrants and further restrict them for legal aliens.



It is entirely proper that we insist that those who come to our country abide by our rules and make a positive contribution. But we must not forget that virtually every Michiganian is descended from immigrants. My grandparents came to America intending to make a better life for themselves through hard work. And that is exactly what they did, for themselves and their children.



Those who don't play by the rules and simply come here for government handouts should not be welcomed. But we must keep Lady Liberty's lamp lit for those who yearn to be free, and who abide by our laws as they pursue the fruits of our freedom of opportunity.

SPENCER ABRAHAM
U.S. Senate

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Analysis of Spencer Abraham's Article

[After trying your hand at analyzing Senator Abraham's article about Mary Lou Tanton's op-ed on pages 170-171, you may want to check your responses with these as developed by David Payne.]

1. **Sourceless Assertion**: What is his justification for telling us the priorities of the American people?

2. **One-Sided Assertion**: Making it harder to bring in family is precisely the point of the legislation since this sort of "chain migration" leads to ever greater numbers of immigrants.

3. **Scare Words**: These assertions are always included to link to the idea of big government controlling our every move (Big Brother). When explained they are not as scary as they sound. For instance, what is the problem with parents personalizing their children's birth certificate with fingerprints? My birth certificate from forty years ago has fingerprints and footprints on it. To complain that this will all end up in a Washington data bank is like the gambler who has lost all his money to the house complaining that they won't get another cent of his money — having our birth certificates on file is innocuous information that is already in our files!

4. **Factual Error**: The people who do not pass the verification that they are legally in the country and entitled to work can still be hired. Their cases are referred for further study — while they are working. If they prove to be here illegally, those jobs are then open to legal American workers.

5. **Scare Tactics**: The proposed border tax is $1.00 (which is conveniently not mentioned). Are we to believe this would "devastate" Michigan business? After all, there is now a comparable fee for using the bridge, which goes to its maintenance. Border crossers at sea and airports now pay a fee (as they do many places around the world) to help support the cost of governmental services such as border inspections. This is based on the conservative principle of "user pays."

6. **Appeal to emotion**. We are not punishing people because they are seeking a better life; but rather are protecting what is important to us. This makes it sound as if we are never justified in punishing people for seeking a better life, which is false. Suppose I rob a bank in order to better my life. Should I not therefore be punished? If I am punished, I am punished not simply for seeking to better my life, but for seeking to better my life at the expense of harming what is important to others.

7. **Innuendo**. By saying that illegal immigration is the "real" problem, the unstated implication is that legal immigration is not a real problem. He has not shown this to be the case.

8. **Puffery**. A long list of items to be accomplished sounds impressive, but often lacks substance. What good is it to dictate that criminal aliens are to be deported expeditiously when there are insufficient appropriations to accomplish the task. Why is it a threat to those who have overstayed their visas that they won't be eligible for additional visas for three years? And how will we be able to deny welfare benefits to illegals without some identification system to let us ascertain who is here legally?

9. **Appeal to emotions/irrelevant assertions**. The claim that every Michiganian is descended from immigrants is specious. Every person in the world is descended from an immigrant in this sense of the term. The claim concerning grandparents is heartwarming, but irrelevant.

10. **Appeal to emotions**. Stop! This is the stuff of soap operas. The Statue of Liberty stands for just that: "Liberty Enlightening the World" — its real title. It does *not* stand for immigration!

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Logical Fallacies 101

Or, how to spot illogical arguments

by Scip Garling

Logical fallacies (errors in reasoning) are not obscure rhetorical devices left over from forensic classes of the past. No, fallacies are alive and well — and thriving in the immigration debate. Opponents of immigration reform use them constantly to block critical discussion of our country's immigration policy. A familiarity with some common fallacies may help readers to identify them in the arguments of others and avoid them in arguments of their own. What follows is a brief overview of several major logical fallacies and their use in the immigration debate.

1. POST HOC, ERGO PROPTER HOC (Coincidence and Causality)

Post hoc, ergo propter hoc (literally, after this, therefore because of this) is a causal fallacy. Although the name is a mouthful, it is simple to understand: just because two things happen to coincide doesn't mean one causes the other. For example:

> *Whenever I carry an umbrella my allergies are better. Therefore, to improve my allergies, I should always carry an umbrella.*

It may be true that whenever I carry an umbrella my allergies are better. But that does not mean that my allergies are better because I am carrying an umbrella. This doesn't mean that the two are not somehow related. In this case, the two factors may have a common cause: I am carrying an umbrella because it is raining, and when it rains the pollen count goes down, improving my allergies.

In the context of the debate about immigration the *post hoc* fallacy looks like this:

> *After our huge wave of immigration at the turn of the century, America went on to greatness.*

This may be true, but it does not follow that such greatness was caused by the huge wave of immigration. In fact, greatness may have been achieved despite immigration; or perhaps the optimum conditions that formed the foundation of greatness also attracted immigrants at the same time. In any case, to jump to the conclusion that immigration is the cause of our country's greatness is unwarranted.

This fallacy is a favorite of immigrationist Julian Simon, who argues that because material indicators (such as the cost of raw materials and the standard of living) have gotten better over the last fifty years while the population has been skyrocketing, the only possible conclusion is that the more people we have the better off we are.

2. THE APPEAL ARGUMENTS (the "Ad" Arguments)

When someone really doesn't have a leg to stand on, or is too lazy to craft a causal fallacy, he often resorts to an "appeal" argument, i.e., he appeals to emotion instead of reason. The appeals are very handy when there isn't a lot of time for debate, and are often heard before large audiences. They are an attempt to get you to feel instead of think, because if you start thinking, you may start thinking for yourself.

A. Argumentum ad populum (appeal to popularity)

Since some people feel it is more important to be popular than either right or good, they often appeal to the popularity of an idea to get you to buy into it. "E.T. must be a great movie — everybody's going to see it" is very similar to "Everyone likes the idea of immigration, so it must be a good thing." There could be many reasons that a great number of people have gone to see E.T. (for instance, maybe they had to take their children to see it); but it is not necessarily a great film because of that. So too, many

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people might like immigration because it makes them feel good about the desirability of our nation; but that doesn't necessarily make immigration a good thing for the country.

B. Argumentum ad baculum (appeal to force)

The appeal to force boils down to "agree with me or you'll be in trouble." When immigrationists argued that the District of Columbia should grant suffrage to aliens living there, one of the reasons was that without the right to vote, the aliens might take to the streets in frustration, as they did in the Mt. Pleasant Riots. Force may indeed be a motivator for going along with something; but it doesn't make it right. *Argumentum ad baculum* may also be thought of as coercion, or an appeal to fear.

C. Argumentum ad verecundiam (appeal to inappropriate authority)

Argumentum ad verecundiam (literally, the appeal to deference) relies on one's willingness to defer to important people on all sorts of matters, whether they know better than you or not. Madison Avenue relies on this appeal heavily: Whoopi Goldberg advertises MCI, Candice Bergen plugs Sprint, and Bill Cosby sells Jello. These actors are not experts — either in telecommunications or gelatinous foodstuffs; yet their celebrity status is expected to influence you in such matters. The same happens when immigrationists cite "a survey of economists" or quote Bill Gates as proof that immigration is good for the country. Economists may have some idea of what expands (but not improves) the economy, and Bill Gates probably has an idea of what is good for Bill Gates; but citing them as experts on the benefits of immigration to the country is simply an appeal to an inappropriate authority.

D. Argumentum ad misericordiam (appeal to pity)

When your spouse comes home and begins to argue that the Venetian blinds should be closed slanting up instead of down (for no particular reason), and finally says "Just humor me, I've had a hard day," he is using the *argumentum ad misericordiam*. If the appeal is blatant enough, it can actually be amusing. There is the story of the teenager who killed his parents and then begged for mercy from the court because he was an orphan.

Almost any newspaper article on immigration will make an *argumentum ad misericordiam* (usually at the beginning):

> *Widowed Maria Vargas, who works two jobs and sews her own clothes, only wants to make a better life for her baby girl. She heard that, in America, if she works hard, she can give her daughter the life she could only dream of as a child.*

By focusing our emotions on the plight of the individual, the author distracts from the overall effect of a million Maria Vargases. Journalism calls this human interest — but it is an appeal to pity nonetheless.

3. ACCIDENT (the Rigid Rule)

In general, rules are good; but there can be *too* much of a good thing. Rules are not absolute, and cannot be applied unthinkingly to every situation. The fallacy caused by over-strict adherence to a rule or principle is called Accident.

Courts of law continually must be on guard against the fallacy of accident when applying rules (laws) to specific situations (cases). A famous example of such is found in *Schenck v. United States* (1919), in which Justice Oliver Wendell Homes writes:

> *The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theater and causing a panic.*

As a general rule, we have freedom of speech; but the court recognized that such a rule must be modified in circumstances where speech is used to endanger the public.

Because rules make things simple, the fallacy of Accident can be very seductive; and immigrationists often use this allure to their advantage:

> *Hardworking people are good for the economy. Immigrants are hardworking people. Therefore, immigrants are good for the economy.*

Hardworking people are, in general, good for the economy, and we can even grant the assumption that all immigrants are hardworking people. But that doesn't mean that any quantity of hardworking immigrants is good for the economy. The economy is not so simple that one rule can cover it. The following example shows why such arguments won't work:

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Prunes are good for you. (They are, certainly when compared with junk food.)
The more good things you eat, the better off you are. (This is true.)
Therefore, the more prunes you eat the better off you are. (This is not true, as anyone who has ever eaten a great many prunes will tell you.)

The moral here is that rules should never be blindly assumed to apply in all instances.

4. CONVERSE ACCIDENT (Hasty Generalization)

The fallacy of Converse Accident is, as its name implies, similar to the fallacy of Accident. In Accident, you misapply a general rule to a specific situation; in Converse Accident, you generalize a specific situation into a sweeping rule. Thus, Converse Accident is sometimes called Hasty Generalization.

If you went to Paris for one weekend, and came back home with the following observation:

I don't like Paris — it always rains too much there,

you would be guilty of the fallacy of Converse Accident. Two days do not yield enough information from which to generalize a city's weather. If you went to Seattle for a weekend and came to the same conclusion, you would still be committing the fallacy. Just because you would happen to be correct (it does rain a great deal in Seattle) doesn't alter the fact that the generalization is unwarranted.

Similarly, three immigrants are not sufficient for a generalization about all immigrants:

Albert Einstein, John Lennon, and Peter Brimelow have been good for our society.
Albert Einstein, John Lennon, and Peter Brimelow are immigrants.
Therefore, immigrants are good for our society.

Sometimes the argument is less specific: "Some immigrants start Fortune 500 companies, are valedictorians, and have 32 percent fewer cavities than Americans." Perhaps, but to extrapolate from those few to the 23 million immigrants in the United States is clearly a Hasty Generalization.

5. IGNORATIO ELENCHI (Irrelevant Conclusion)

Another popular fallacy is the Ignoratio Elenchi (literally, Unawareness of the Pearl). You might more easily remember it as Irrelevant Conclusion. You are involved in an ignoratio elenchi when you pull your conclusion out of thin air, i.e., when your conclusion has nothing to do with your premises. This may sound as if it never happens, but it is actually quite common. When was the last time you heard a commercial for soft drinks or blue jeans? Such advertisements are commonly involved in the fallacy. So also are politicians when election year comes around:

I love my children; have never missed a day's work; I served my country in wartime; and I believe in the divine nature of America's destiny. Therefore, you should vote for me in November.

The points are interesting, and may arguably say something about the character of the candidate (e.g., that he is an ordinary parent with good health who got drafted); but the conclusion that he is the appropriate person to elect to office comes out of nowhere.

Even a casual listener to immigrationist arguments will turn up examples of Ignoratio Elenchi. Here is one such example:

Immigrants are colorful and add to our diversity.
Immigrants only come here to better their lives and mean no one harm.
Immigrants evince family values.
Immigrants pay tribute to the greatness of our country by wanting to come here.
Therefore, the annual number of immigrants should not be reduced.

The premises (if you accept them) might lead to some conclusion (perhaps that immigrants are well-meaning), but the conclusion that immigration reform is not necessary does not follow.

Immigration limitation is such a serious matter of public policy that watching for fallacies is a practical necessity. □

How Can We Divide Resources Fairly?

"There's no way to cover America's poor people if we have to cover Mexico's poor people, too. The price of compassion is restriction. If you're going to serve everybody, you're going to serve nobody."

— *Former Colorado Governor Richard Lamm*

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They Won't Go Away

The issues raised by Pat Buchanan will not fade

by Scott McConnell

The Great Fear set off by Pat Buchanan's victory in New Hampshire has now expired. Buchanan's loss in Arizona, followed by Dole victories in South Carolina and then everywhere else, made it clear that the Buchanan campaign would be a neo-populist protest vehicle, not a serious bid for power.

The Republican sense of relief is palpable; even if — as remains possible — Bob Dole loses badly in November and takes the GOP majorities in the House and Senate down with him, the business interests which form the GOP's backbone will face no frontal challenge.

No candidate will be pointing out that mass immigration undermines the wage levels of less-educated American workers — and none will raise indelicate questions about the corrosive impact of economic globalization on American communities.

Buchanan's flameout was a more closely run thing than Dole's landslide delegate totals now suggest. In a way it serves as a backhanded compliment to the much-maligned profession of political consultants, who have no role in the pitchfork pundit's campaign.

Had there been a politically savvy grownup with the candidate's ear during the crucial 72 hours following the New Hampshire win, Buchanan might have been told that he had all the Arizona gun-nut voters in his pocket anyway, and that the time was right to present himself in a Catholic-run homeless shelter — there to speak quietly about what Americans owe to one another as part of the social contract.

Better that, certainly, than to gallivant with rifle and a black hat around the OK Coral. Apparently, however, there was no one in the campaign with a sufficiently mainstream sensibility to say so — a fact which, by itself, speaks volumes about Buchanan's weakness as a candidate.

But though Buchanan will not win anything this year, the themes animating his candidacy are not going to vanish. Mainstream commentators like to dismiss Buchanan's message as "preaching fear" (to quote *Newsweek*'s cover). The subtext of such claims is that there is really nothing to fear — and if there were, Buchanan is offering only chimerical solutions.

But what if the illnesses diagnosed by Buchanan are real? And what if the cures he is offering are as plausible as those tendered by anyone else?

Edward Luttwak, a renowned political writer analyst and historian, recently described the Buchanan campaign as part of world-wide populist reaction against the "turbo-capitalism" of free trade and domestic deregulation.

Luttwak points to last autumn's widespread strikes in France and the wave of neo-communist electoral victories in Eastern Europe as other instances where the populations of relatively advanced countries are shouting an emphatic "No" to the new imperatives of the global marketplace.

...What if the illnesses diagnosed by Buchanan are real? And what if the cures he is offering are ...plausible?

And they are not deluded for doing so. Luttwak notes that while Buchanan's remedies would likely reduce America's overall GNP, they would also produce a more prosperous middle and working class.

Tariffs would limit the ability of well-off Americans to pick and choose goods from the global marketplace; American consumers would be, in effect, forced to buy inferior American-made

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Scott McConnell is a syndicated columnist. This article is reprinted by permission from the New York Post, *March 13, 1996.*

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products. But people who make these products—U.S. industrial workers—would be far better off.

Mightn't the country be more content that way? Any babyboomer can likely remember when Americans loved their cars so much that Top 40 radio was full of people singing songs about them: "409" and "Little Deuce Coup," "Hey, Little Cobra" and "Mustang Sally." They may have been inferior to today's Honda Accords and BMWs — but they were *ours* in a way that German and Japanese cars will never be, and the nation reveled in them.

Buchanan's proposals to limit immigration also meet wide-spread elite dismissal, though it is the only position that remotely approaches what Americans regularly tell pollsters they want.

As Luttwak points out, a cut-off in the unending supply of Mexican and Central American gardeners, maids and manual laborers would have only positive economic consequences on the job prospects of the least-skilled Americans, who are now maintained in urban housing projects and often do no useful work at all.

Immigration restrictions — like trade protectionism — would benefit working-class Americans at the expense of the bourgeoisie. But they would also address a larger anxiety about the nation's ethnic and cultural transformation — an anxiety that constitutes a major reason why Americans of all classes believe their country is headed in the wrong direction.

In fact there are two major demographic movements in the U.S. right now: Third World people coming into the United States and settling in seaboard cities — and older American ethnic groups trying to run away from them by moving to the hinterland.

Urban scholar Joel Kotkin recently described this phenomenon as "white flight to the fringes." In the last four years more than a million people have moved from cities to rural areas, reversing an urbanization trend centuries old; many more flee to new and whiter "edge cities" and their suburbs.

Escapees from the New York City region are leading the exodus: nearly a million people — mostly better educated whites — left the area in the past four years for such "white enclaves" as central Florida and towns around Research Triangle in North Carolina.

In short, many Americans are looking at a global marketplace which undermines their job security, and at a multicultural future which threatens their sense of nationhood, and are saying, "Wait a minute."

They are, for the moment, saying this without any notable animosity toward either recent immigrants or toward foreign nations which penetrate the American market. But the trend toward the global village is moving too fast — exacting too high a price in lost national cohesion.

Not only members of a displaced and fearful working class are sensitive to these themes; many quite comfortable people worry about losing their country and their culture. The Buchanan campaign has tried to speak for all of them; their numbers are unlikely to diminish once this election season is past. □

Eighty Percent Say English Should Be the Official Language

Many Americans probably don't realize that English is not the official language of the United States.

As the organization English Language Advocates states, "English is our common language by custom, not by law." The group says 19 states recognize English as the official language and several other states are considering similar legislation.

Several members of Congress have also introduced legislation to institute English as the official language of the federal government.

America On Line decided to survey its members to see if they thought English should be declared the official language of the U.S.

RESULTS: Of the 21,589 responses received, over 80 percent said that English should be declared the official language of the United States. Of the remaining responses, 15 percent were against any law declaring English the official language, and about 3 percent did not care about the issue.

— This information appeared on the internet March 8, 1996

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A Manifesto: In Defense of 'Current Americans'

by John Patrick Zmirak

In a recent press conference, William Bennett (speaking, no doubt, for his overworked ghost writer) condemned Pat Buchanan and people who share his beliefs about immigration as "dirty, rotten" and "ungrateful." Now, it is one thing to argue the economic merits of immigration policy, citing evidence — such as Messrs. Bennett, Kemp, Wallop and Abraham did recently in *The Wall Street Journal* (Feb. 29, 1996, "A Manifesto for Immigration"). That is how conservatives fight for their beliefs. It is quite another matter for Bennett and his allies to employ McCarthyite tactics — wielding innuendo, code-words, and guilt by association — to blacken the moral reputations of those who oppose their policy preferences. That is how conservatives fight.

I wish to address head-on the central claim of neoconservative anti-nationalists: the notion that it is morally wrong for Euro-Americans to oppose immigration flows for racial, ethnic, cultural or religious reasons. (Neoconserva-tives do not voice any objections to Japanese who wish to maintain an Asian majority in Japan, or Jamaicans who wish to retain black rule on their island — or indeed, to Mexicans who resist Guatemalan, Cuban and Honduran immigration using tactics that would land an American INS officer in prison along with Stacey Koons and James Earl Ray.) This demographic question — not the integrity of the welfare system, or labor competition, or environmental damage — is the real issue at the heart of the immigration debate.

John Patrick Zmirak has just received his Ph.D. in English Literature from Louisiana State University.

To Establish the Facts

First, Euro-Americans will be a minority in this country by the middle of the next century, solely because of immigration. African-Americans will remain a minority, but will decline from the single most important minority — with special moral, historical claims on the government — to one group among many minorities, all clamoring for recognition.

Second, no other group will take the place of whites as a dominant majority. There will be no dominant majority, but rather a vast parliament of ethnicities at wildly different degrees of assimilation, English-language fluency, education and skills. Certainly, given the continuation of current family-reunification policies, most of these immigrants will come from impoverished nations with high birth rates and low educational levels. We will have imported tens of millions of people from a hundred nations, all to compete for the very low-skill jobs that even now are disappearing, leaving undereducated natives jobless. In the absence of a majority culture, assimilation will become harder and more incomplete; to what culture should newcomers assimilate? Internet? Virtual reality? Disney Español?

Third, both Euro-Americans and African-Americans will see their political influence, cultural power, and economic well-being suffer, as other groups from political blocs discriminate in their own favor and establish policies suited to their own cultural traditions and preferences. Imagine the current tensions between blacks and Koreans in Los Angeles, or between Anglos and Cubans in Miami, multiplied by dozens of new ethnicities in nearly every American city. The two historically central groups, black and white, who by their sheer numbers have shed most of the blood and done most of the hard work that built this country, will find themselves dispossessed of the cultural benefits their ancestors earned. These centered around the English language, British liberties, and the whole complex of Anglo-American political culture, to which African-Americans are also rightful heirs. The immigrants —

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simply by arriving and not by any ill-will or intrinsic inferiority, but simply because of their vast numbers and great variety — will deprive Euro-and African-Americans of many important civic goods. Also injured will be Latino- and Asian-Americans who are already here and have successfully assimilated to the current Anglo culture.

Looking at the Next America

Perhaps the dispossessed groups will find the new America exciting and cosmopolitan. Historical experience — that of the Celts in Britain, the Cherokees in Georgia, the Tutsis in Rwanda, the Aborigines in Australia — suggest otherwise. The story of marginalized majorities is nowhere a happy one. Even neoconservatives such as Dinesh D'Souza recognize the problems implied by racial fragmentation, and recommend the unlikely solution of large-scale intermarriage. We must destroy the races in order to save them, it seems.

In this bright, future, neoconservative New Inner City on a Hill, who will enjoy cultural dominance? Overall, no one, since there will not be a majority culture in the projected polyglot United States. But within the increasingly fragmented society that survives this permanent cultural revolution there will be local elites centered around ethnicity who will squabble with neighboring elites, impose their ways on local minorities, and in general act in accordance with flawed human nature. And any study of human nature (we paleoconservatives refer to this study as "history" and recommend it highly to neoconservatives) suggests that ethnic groups in a single polity strive always and everywhere to dominate other ethnic groups, a struggle which only abates when there is a clear, unquestioned majority — and which re-ignites when that group wanes. Thus the growing Catholic minority in Northern Ireland, the burgeoning Palestinian minority in Israeli territory, the new Albanian majority in Kossovo — each becomes truly problematic as it grows in numbers and challenges the status quo. We will learn anew this lesson on a continental scale.

"Those of us of any race who are here legally [can] assert our right to close our borders for the sake of ...a functional nation."

To recognize this law of human nature is not to assert the superiority of one's own group according to some objective, Enlightenment scale of human value. Why resort to such nonsense? Throw out the I.Q. tests and the phrenology charts onto the same ash heap as the Afrocentric history texts and Bennett's *The Book of Virtues*. We current Americans, those of us of every race who are here legally, have no need of such dishonest or irrelevant ideological constructs to assert our right to close our borders for the sake of maintaining a functional nation. It is our prerogative and we choose to exercise it. Period.

Similarly, those Euro- and African Americans who fought to close the borders from 1921-1924 were well within their rights, even if some of them used impolite rhetoric. They and their ancestors had fought to build America, and owned a vital stake in it. My grandfather, Patríc Zmirak, and his ancestors had fought to build Habsburg Croatia, and had a vital stake in that. By choosing in 1916 to leave the land on which he had a moral claim, and asking to enter a country *on which he had absolutely none*, Grandpa Zmirak was asking the heirs of Thomas Jefferson and Frederick Douglass *for a favor*. It was within their rights to refuse. I am grateful that they did not.

But they did have to draw a line, to weigh the advantages of cheap immigrant labor against the dangers of political extremism and ethnic separatism posed by massive numbers of poor Southern Europeans with no experience of democracy or liberty, and perhaps at some point to close the borders. I am grateful that they did.

I would show little gratitude now if I took the fact of my immigrant heritage as warrant for wantonly destroying the very country that was kind enough to allow my grandfather to share its bounty; subjecting the children of those welcoming citizens, and mine, (and Dinesh D'Souza's) to the fate of the Lebanese Maronites, the Welsh, the Bosnians, the Zulus and the Afrikaners. □

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The Melting Pot — Then and Now

Tracking the idea through the 20th century

Review essay
by Brent Nelson

In the history of ideas those which have the longest life are often not carefully articulated concepts but only images or metaphors. When they were pungently new, they were ideas that seized the imagination of the people. Years later the dead metaphors are still carried about in their cultural baggage.

Most tenacious in its hold upon the American mass mind has been the dead (because it is no longer visualized) metaphor of the Melting Pot. The "melting-pot" was first given currency in 1908 by Israel Zangwill's thus-named drama.

Henry Pratt Fairchild, professor of sociology at New York University, in his book *The Melting-Pot Mistake*, published in 1926, noted that the "melting pot" was a symbol for which there was a need. It expressed a faith and a hope, according to which, in Fairchild's words, "America is a Melting-Pot. Into it are being poured representatives of all the world's peoples. Within its magic confines there is being formed something that is not only uniform and homogeneous but also finer than any of the separate ingredients. The nations of the world are being forged into a new and choicer nation, the United States" (p.10).

Although Zangwill himself later repudiated his early work by becoming a Zionist, the symbol of the Melting Pot was still alive in the popular mind when Fairchild wrote. Fairchild presented it as a fact, however, that "We know now that the Melting-Pot did not melt, but we are not entirely sure why," and expressed doubt that "so complicated a phenomenon as assimilation can be adequately represented by any symbol at all" (p.12).

Fairchild, writing only two years after the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, was still aware of the need to convince a segment, perhaps a majority, of his readership of the need for immigration restriction. A later reader, however, can profitably read Fairchild not for what he writes about the explicit failure of the Melting Pot, but by observing certain implicit assumptions which inform his work from its beginning. Foremost among these is the assumption that there is no break in the continuity of stages of development from primitive man to races, and from races to nationalities. All stages of development emerge from nature, in a continuing and continuous evolution.

Even while Fairchild wrote, this assumption of continuity was under attack by the school of Franz Boas, a cultural anthropologist. The success of the Boasians in establishing a new implicit assumption in the

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The Melting Pot Mistake
By Henry Pratt Fairchild
New York: Arno Press, 1977
226 pages, $23.95
ISBN-0-405-09949-5

Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City (2nd edition)
By Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan
Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1970

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social sciences — an assumption (not to be questioned) that there is a radical break between man in nature and man in culture — has been fully chronicled by Carl Degler in his *In Search of Human Nature: The Decline and Revival of Darwinism in American Social Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). Today's reader, raised to honor the Boasian assumption, may find Fairchild to be perplexing and perhaps disturbing reading.

Fairchild considers in a lengthy chapter "The Factor of Race," beginning with a portrayal of primitive man, whose physical features "resembled much more closely those of a gorilla or chimpanzee than a modern civilized man" (p.15). Today, this primordial origin is rarely cited *in social science* as significant to an understanding of the origin of society. It is assumed that society begins with primitive culture, and that primitive culture represents a definitive break from nature. It has been left to the sociobiologists, representatives of *the physical science* of biology, to re-examine social origins from an evolutionary standpoint.

While Fairchild notes that man is unique in spreading over the surface of the whole earth "without losing his specific unity," he believes that varieties, or races, although they are something less than species, are nonetheless important: "The primary basis of group unity is therefore racial" (p.21). Fairchild recognizes "yellow, brown, black, red, and white races," (p.22) roughly one for each continent. Within the white race, he recognizes Nordic, Alpine, and Mediterranean races (pp.43, 64, 94-102, 109-110). A significant section of his book (pp.94-106) is an attempt to assess the relative contributions of these three races to the American population.

Fairchild urges caution in making judgments about racial differences: "Just what the truly racial features of intellect, disposition, temperament, and emotion may be is still almost *terra incognita*." Nonetheless, whatever may be the results of research into this unknown territory, "there seems to be little room for doubt that these psychical contrasts play a much more important part in impeding harmonious action between groups than the external or narrowly physical aspects" (p.32). This means that "the period of race contact," resulting from "the pressure of population," is one of "race conflict" (p.35).

Henry Pratt Fairchild, 1880-1956

Fairchild, however, is far from being the kind of racial determinist that Count de Gobineau, for example, is often caricatured as having been (*Essay on the Inequality of Human Races*, Paris: 1853). Fairchild notes that "Race is inherited, nationality is acquired" (p.42) and concludes that "as man has moved upward along his distinctly human pathway the influence of race upon his activities has steadily decreased in relative importance while that of nationality has correspondingly increased" (p.51).

The racial factor is not, however, annulled by that of nationality. On the contrary, the unity of nationality is threatened by racial disunity: "The essence of national coherence is a sufficient degree of recognized likeness and community of interest in the great activities of group life to inspire a yearning for 'togetherness.' ...a manifestation of the 'we-feeling' as contrasted with the 'you-feeling.'" The latter becomes excessively strong where racial differences are most stark: "William Graham Sumner used to tell his students at Yale that the United States had no claim to the name of nation because of the presence of so large a negro population, the implication being that between the white and colored races there exist such lively recognitions of dissimilarity that they can never establish the degree of common feeling necessary to true nationality" (pp.53-54).

Fairchild does not refer to "racism," a term not in use when he wrote, but does define "race prejudice" — "The trouble with the customary application of the term 'race prejudice' is that a very large part of what it is made to refer to is neither racial nor prejudice. Taking the latter fault first, a prejudice in the strict

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sense is a pre-judgment, that is, a judgment made in advance of the evidence. Now the state of mind usually alluded to is not a judgment, but a feeling, and it does not arise in advance of the evidence. The evidence consists of the traits of a person recognized to be of another race. The feeling is a feeling of revulsion or withdrawal that arises spontaneously under these conditions. It may vary in intensity and perhaps in quality according to the circumstances, that is, according to the sort of association, contact, or relationship that is involved in the meeting" (p.68-69).

Nation versus Nationality

Fairchild stresses "a clear distinction between the concepts of 'nationality' and 'nation'" (p.52). He uses the latter term in a sense which is rather uncommon today: "A true nation arises when such a group as has been described realizes its aspiration, that is, when a nationality achieves the political control of the geographical area upon which it dwells" (p.53). As examples of nationalities which have failed to accomplish this, Fairchild cites the "submerged nationalities" of Eastern Europe.

Nationalities can perish if they are submerged for a long period of time and lack essential unifying ingredients: "[W]hen a nationality, for whatsoever reason, has only a few well-established common traits, it is essential that these should be of a fundamental character, including at least two or three out of the following list: language, religion, political ideas, basic moral code, family institution, class feelings" (pp.55-56). A common language and religion kept the Greek nationality alive during centuries of Turkish domination.

Fairchild recognizes an evolutionary factor in the survival of nationalities which socio-biologists, fifty years later, defined as "inclusive fitness": "Sympathy toward the in-group and antipathy toward the out-group may be regarded as universal human traits" (p.59). "...in the competition of life between groups, altruism, patriotism, and social efficiency have survival value, and since these factors have been essential to the development of civilization the motive which underlies them, group sympathy, may be considered as having had a distinct usefulness" (p.61).

Applying these criteria to early America, Fairchild sees a nationality emergent in the colonies long before the war for independence: "Quite early the colonists recognized the dangers inherent in too great numbers of foreigners, and in some cases attempted to limit their admission by various means" (p.87). Even after other nationality groups began to enter the U.S. in significant numbers, they were generally of predominantly Nordic race. Hence, "the immigration problem in the United States was not a racial problem previous to the year 1882" (p.105).

An influx of Alpine and Mediterranean elements came after 1882. "[B]eginning about 1882, the immigration problem in the United States has become increasingly a racial problem in two distinct ways, first by altering profoundly the Nordic predominance in the American population, and second by introducing various new elements which, while of uncertain volume, are so radically different from any of the old ingredients that even small quantities are deeply significant" (p.112). The latter include "the Hebrews" (p.111).

The Immigration Act of 1924 used nationality as the closest practical approximation to race. It was discriminatory, but "it was recognized that quotas based on foreign-born residents exclusively were illogical and themselves discriminatory against the old stock. It was realized that the native population had at least as good a right as foreigners to be considered in determining the composition of the immigration of the future" (pp.132-133).

The Question of Assimilation

At the midpoint of his book, Fairchild considers what assimilation has been in process, how it has been effected, and how it relates to the melting pot ideal. The latter represents a total assimilation since "A melting pot is not an end in itself. The purpose of a melting pot is to get the heterogenous substances into a form of unity and fluidity. But the great questions remain: What kind of a substance are you going to have when the fusion is complete? And what are you going to do with it?" (p.120).

Most evidently, the melting pot fails where languages and religions are involved. Two or more languages or religions

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never "melt" into one new language or one new religion (pp.144-145). "The process by which a nationality preserves its unity while admitting representatives of outside nationalities is properly termed 'assimilation'" (p.136). But "the attempt to mix nationalities must result not in a new type of composite nationality but in the destruction of all nationality. No one of the components can survive the process if it is carried too far. This is the outstanding fallacy of the melting pot. It applies a figure that is appropriate only in the racial sense to a problem that is preponderantly national. It represents unification in terms of a process which, for the greater part of the task of unification, will not work. If the truth were otherwise in this matter the history of the Balkans would have been very different from what it has been. ...The inhabitants of this unfortunate area are broken up into incompatible groups not by racial differentiations — most of which they would be quite unable to detect — but by languages, religions, customs, social habits, and ... traditional group loyalties" (pp.150-151).

In the final analysis, assimilation contradicts the melting pot ideal because, in assimilation, "The traits of foreign nationality which the immigrant brings with him are not to be mixed or interwoven. They are to be abandoned" (p.154). The melting pot, on the contrary, absorbs all characteristics, preserving them in a formless mass which represents a melting down of most or all of the characteristics of nationality.

"Americanization"

Fairchild gives considerable attention to a critique of a concept seldom invoked today: Americanization.[1] Criticizing the Americanization efforts of his own day, he sees in them the error of equating information with national allegiance. Americanization sees assimilation as only an educational process, a voluntary process, "much like the act of conversion in an old-fashioned revival" (p.169-170).

Other flaws of the early Americanization movement included an assumption that the fact of immigration indicates a desire to assimilate: "Unfortunately, the truth is that the feature of the American nationality which operates as the chief drawing card in the great majority of cases among the recent immigrants is the opportunity to make money" (p.175). This observation is even more relevant after seventy years. Indeed, it is now almost incontestable.

Fairchild answers, as follows, the objection, still current at the end of the twentieth century, that an American nationality cannot be defined because only the American Indians are true Americans: "To say that the Indians are the only true Americans means that what constitutes an American is ancient residence upon a certain territory, which was not even called American until after the white men discovered it. ...According to this clever saying America is a piece of land, and nothing more" (pp.199-200).

America, however, is "not merely an aggregation of people" (p.200), but "something more than a governmental organization" (p.201). It is "a nationality, and fortunately also a nation. America is a spiritual reality. It is a body of ideas and ideals, traditions, beliefs, customs, habits, institutions, standards, loyalties, a whole complex of cultural and moral values" (p.201).

Again, Fairchild stresses that race, while antecedent to nationality, is not superseded by it: "There can be no doubt that the founders of America expected it and intended it to be a white man's country,... The calmness with which they closed their eyes to the presence of the Negroes in this white man's country did not alter their intentions any more than it provided an escape from the difficulties involved. There can also be no doubt that if America is to remain a stable nation it must continue to be a white man's country for an indefinite period to come. We have enough grounds of disunion and disruption without adding the irremediable one of deep racial antagonisms. An exclusion policy toward all non-white groups is wholly defensible in theory and practice, however questionable may have been the immediate means by which this policy has been put into effect at successive periods in our history" (p.240).

Toward the end of his book, Fairchild takes note of factors which have now grown in weight at the end of the twentieth century. He concludes that "The discussion thus far has rested on the assumption that the importance of national unity is axiomatic. ...But there is a notable body of public thought, all the

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more influential because it parades under the guise of liberalism, that questions the validity of this axiom" (p.247). Nonetheless, Fairchild gives no evidence of any awareness that the assumption of national unity would come under increasingly effective attack. He also refers to "Walker's law" that "the ultimate outcome of unrestricted immigration is a progressive deterioration of the standard until no difference of *economic level* exists between our population and that of the most degraded communities abroad" (p.252). This, read now, seems to be a premonition of the two-fold impact of unrestricted immigration and free trade upon the living standards of the great mass of Americans who are non-supervisory employees.

Finally, in the last paragraph of his book, Fairchild suggests that had the Immigration Act of 1924 not been enacted, the melting pot might have worked all too well to destroy national unity because "what was being melted in the great Melting Pot, losing all form and symmetry, all beauty and character, all nobility and usefulness, was the American nationality itself" (p.261). The melting pot was a mistake, not a failure. Had it succeeded, it would have destroyed the American nationality.

Failure of the Melting Pot

Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, in the preface to their 1963 book *Beyond the Melting Pot,* confirm that the melting pot has failed: "The point about the melting pot, as we say later, is that it did not happen. At least not in New York and *mutatis mutandis,* in those parts of America which resemble New York." The unmeltable ingredients, as gathered in New York City, are "the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish" cited in the subtitle to *Beyond the Melting Pot,* which is a sociological survey of each separate group. Nowhere in this survey, however, do the authors suggest that the outcome of the melting process, had it happened, would have been a mistake. The cardinal assumption of Glazer and Moynihan about the melting pot, then, is something quite other than that of Fairchild.

Similarly, Glazer and Moynihan begin with another assumption directly contrary to that of Fairchild. They are Boasians, making no reference to physical anthropology and but little reference to cultural anthropology. If race is found to be significant, as in the case of the Negroes, this is due to historical (i.e., cultural) happenstance (or, more appropriately, misfortune). The evolutionary paradigm (species/ races/ nationalities/ nations) which Fairchild brings to all points of his study is invoked not even implicitly by Glazer and Moynihan.

Glazer and Moynihan are also, unlike Fairchild, agnostic about the definition of an American nationality. They conclude only that "Religion and race define the next stage in the evolution of the American peoples. But the American nationality is still forming: its processes are mysterious, and the final form, if there is ever to be a final form, is as yet unknown" (p.315). Evidently, they see no incongruence between the existence of American *peoples,* as opposed to an American *people,* and an American nationality. Fairchild, of course, sees the two as mutually exclusive.

The authors find that "the word 'American' was an unambiguous reference to nationality only when it was applied to a relatively homogeneous social body consisting of immigrants from the British Isles, with relatively small numbers from nearby European countries" (p.15). With later immigration, it came to mean in legal terms a citizen, but socially it had lost its identifying power. "In the United States it became a slogan, a political gesture, sometimes an evasion, but not a matter-of-course, concrete social description of a person. Just as in certain languages a word cannot stand alone but needs some particle to indicate its function, so in the United States the word 'American' does not stand by itself. If it does, it bears the additional meaning of patriot, 'authentic' American, critic and opponent of 'foreign' ideologies" (p.15).

The authors see the American *peoples* molded into as many different social-political forms: "The ethnic group in American society became not a survival from the age of mass immigration but a new social form" (p.16). "Ethnic groups then, even after distinctive language, customs, and culture are lost, as they largely were in the second generation, and even more fully in the third generation, are continually recreated by new experi-

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ences in America" (p.17).

On the basis of their study of ethnic groups in New York City, the authors conclude that ethnic groups have become "interest groups" (p.17). These groups resist assimilation in the sense in which Fairchild uses the term: "Conceivably the fact that one's origins can become only a memory suggests the general direction for ethnic groups in the United States — toward assimilation and absorption into a homogeneous American mass. And yet, ...it is hard to see in the New York of the 1960s just how this comes about. Time alone does not dissolve the groups if they are not close to the Anglo-Saxon center. Color marks off a group, regardless of time; and perhaps most significantly, the 'majority' group, to which assimilation should occur, has taken on the color of an ethnic group, too. To what does one assimilate in modern America?" (p.20).

"Although Glazer and Moynihan wrote almost a third of a century ago, the problems they address often seem to be unchanged."

For Glazer and Moynihan, again unlike Fairchild, this question must remain a rhetorical one. They remain agnostic about the most central of questions. In their words, "this book ... is inevitably filled with judgments, yet the central judgment — an overall evaluation of the meaning of American heterogeneity — we have tried to avoid, because we would not know how to make it" (p.21).

In default, therefore, Glazer and Moynihan measure the assimilation of their five subject groups by applying to them the yardstick of socio-economic status. Their leading and implicit assumption is that any group's failure to attain median socio-economic status must be explained. Any such shortfall is evidence of a societal failure, a failure of assimilation. This assumption is, of course, the basis for affirmative action and other racial preferences, programs implemented only a few years after the authors wrote. Glazer, therefore, in writing of "the Negroes," is slightly in advance of his time when he concludes that "the strictly legal approach to [racial] discrimination will have to be supplemented with new approaches" (p.41).

It now seems a wonder that the authors register concern that "In 1960 in the New York metropolitan area a quarter of Negro families were headed by women" (p.50). Today, when two-thirds of all African-American births are to unwed mothers, it seems to be a wild daydream to hope that one could ever again be able to report such a statistic.

Although Glazer and Moynihan wrote more than a third of a century ago, the problems they address often seem to be unchanged. Thus, Glazer devotes considerable attention to Negro-Jewish tensions (pp.71-77), which have certainly not subsided. Of the inhabitants of Harlem, Glazer notes that "They lack only the ultimate power of expropriation, but if they did, Jewish and other white business might fare as badly in Harlem as the American investments in Mexican oil, or in Cuba" (p.74).

Another familiar problem is the slowing down of assimilation among Hispanics. The authors note that the ease with which Puerto Ricans can migrate from their island to New York and vice versa is a deterrent to assimilation and a new factor in ethnic history (p.100). In response, "The city government on its part encourages city employees to learn Spanish, and issues many announcements to the general public in both languages. Conceivably this will change, but Spanish already has a much stronger official position in New York than either Italian or Yiddish ever had. This is one influence of the closeness of the island, physically, politically, and culturally" (p.101).

In the case of two groups, there are remarkable differences between their circumstances in 1963 and in 1996. Glazer writes about the first of these, the Jews, as he writes about all other groups save the Irish, who are the subjects of Moynihan's contribution.

Glazer observes that "Intermarriage, an important sign of integration, remains low among Jews. The 1957 sample census showed that about 3½ per cent of married Jews were married to non-Jews, and the proportion is possibly even lower in New York" (p.160). Glazer cites a study in New Haven showing no increase

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in intermarriage since 1930, "although in this period the Jews of New Haven became much more acculturated and prosperous. This pattern sharply distinguishes the Jews of the United States from those of other countries in which Jews have achieved wealth and social position, such as Holland, Germany, Austria, and Hungary in the twenties. There the intermarriage rates were phenomenally high" (p.160).

Much has changed in this regard since Glazer wrote. Now, rates of exogamy among American Jews are close to 50 percent. This high rate of physical assimilation brings the American Jewish experience more into parallel with that of central Europe. High rates of exogamy would seem to guarantee the total assimilation of a group, but in the case of the Jews their rejection as a group by their central European hosts followed the period, the 1920s, when seemingly they had won complete acceptance. In this respect, the Jewish experience calls into question the entire concept of what assimilation means.

Moynihan concludes that "The relative failure of the Irish to rise socially seems on the surface to be part of a general Catholic failure" (p.258). Moynihan's understanding of "a general Catholic failure," found corroboration as late as 1972 in Michael Novak's *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*. In 1974, however, it was abruptly overturned when Andrew Greeley, a Jesuit sociologist,

When the lifeboat is overloaded

Our nation's first immigration law in 1882 specified that nobody would be allowed into our country if that individual expected a free ride. Anybody expecting to live off public money was turned away. Not anymore. The United States has become a deluxe retirement home for the elderly of other countries.

Robert Rector of the Heritage Foundation has discovered that most of the one million non-citizens in the United States are living off you. Forty-five percent of all elderly immigrants in California are getting cash from you. Among Russian immigrants, 66 percent are taking your money.

At today's rate of immigration, there will be 3 million non-citizen immigrants costing you — over the next ten years — $328 billion. Publications that are widely distributed among immigrants in all languages tell them how to get your money.

Homegrown Americans expect parents to provide for their own children, yet immigrant families can bring immigrant elderly to the United States and expect taxpayers to support them.

The triage law of the sea prescribes a legal limit for the number of people in each lifeboat. Any others seeking to fight their way aboard must be refused — in any way necessary — in order to keep the lifeboat afloat.

Economics Professor George Borjas computes the cost of jobs lost to foreign-born workers to be $133 billion a year.

Dr. Donald Huddle of Rice University projects the net cost of legal immigration will exceed $400 billion in the next decade. And this figure is in excess of any taxes that employed immigrants might pay.

Those who contend that mass immigration is an economic asset do not compute all the costs of services rendered free to immigrants. Also, they omit the children of immigrants from their fiscal analyses.

A Roper Poll reveals that 54 percent of Americans want annual immigration to be less than 100,000. But each year — as more immigrants, legal and other, arrive — the homegrown Americans in the lifeboat will be further outnumbered, out-shouted and overwhelmed.

It seems inhospitable — cruel — to turn others away. But when our own Ship of State is sinking in a sea of red ink, the alternative to triage is Titanic.

— Paul Harvey, April 9, 1996.
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published, in his *Ethnicity in the United States: A Preliminary Reconnaissance*, his findings that Irish Catholics and other white Catholic groups earned average incomes higher than those of most white Protestant nationality groups.

White Protestants are mentioned but rarely in *Beyond the Melting Pot*, and are the subject of one wildly inaccurate prophecy: "The white Protestants are a distinct ethnic group in New York, one that has probably passed its low point and will now begin to grow in numbers and probably also in influence" (p. 314). Doubtless, this, at least in part, reflected the belief that mediating figures similar to John Lindsay would emerge in the city's political future. Such was not to be.

Glazer and Moynihan's conclusion attempts to define why the melting pot failed. Their reason remains ill-defined, however conjectural: "We may argue whether it was 'nature' that returned to frustrate continually the imminent creation of a single American nationality. The fact is that in every generation, throughout the history of the American republic, the merging of the varying streams of population differentiated from one another by origin, religion, outlook, has seemed to lie just ahead — a generation, perhaps, in the future. This continual deferral of the final smelting of the different ingredients ... into a seamless national web ... suggests that we must search for some systematic and general causes for this American pattern of subnationalities; ...some central tendency in the national ethos which structures people, whether those coming in afresh or the descendants of those who have been here for generations, into groups of different status and character" (pp.290-291)

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"...ethnicity and nationality are rather important factors..."

Whatever this "central tendency in the national ethos" may be, the authors do not further define it. The simplest answer, of course, was one that was repugnant to the creed of the New Frontier; i.e., that ethnicity and nationality are rather more powerful as factors than liberal thinkers had supposed them to be. This was the warning which Fairchild attempted to communicate. It is the conclusion, admittedly supported by a third of a century of hindsight, of William Pfaff in his *The Wrath of Nations: Civilization and the Furies of Nationalism* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993).

Any attempt at the end of the century to revive the melting pot metaphor must be a feeble one. Under another name, "Trans-America," — which is an adaptation of Randolph Bourne's 1916 vision of "Transnational America" — Michael Lind seems to be making such an attempt. Lind's *The Next American Nation* (New York: The Free Press, 1995)[2] bravely affects to look to the future, but it offers little more than yet another refurbishing of the melting pot ideal. Other authors, still fond of metaphor, have written of "the American salad bowl" or "the American mosaic." Lawrence Fuchs, a political scientist, wrote of *The American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethnicity, and the Civic Culture* (Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press, 1990).

Lind's seems to be a faith, despite all, in the civic culture. That culture, in turn, is reducible to nothing more than a belief in continuing socio-economic advancement for all, just something to keep everyone busy and out of trouble, something like Gatsby's "the green light, the orgiastic future that year by year recedes before us." Everyone must be kept running, never allowed to linger, to think, perhaps to wonder where, if anywhere, it all might be headed. Disbelief, even lingering, might lead to a dispersal of the multicultural herd into contending packs. In a multicultural society, the civic culture can only function if it is minimal in the commitment which it implies, a promise of bare civility rather than a loyalty to civilization.

Meanwhile, the meltdown of American nationality, of which Fairchild warned, proceeds apace. □

[1]See an article on Americanization by Otis Graham, Jr. and Elizabeth Koed in *The Social Contract*, Vol.IV, No.2, p.98.

[2]*The Next American Nation* was reviewed by William Chip in *The Social Contract*, Vol.VI, No.2, Winter 1995-96, p.148. There is an additional review by David Payne in this issue, p.231.

[Editor's note: Also on this topic: *Assimilation in American Life* by Milton Gordon, New York: Oxford Press, 1964.]

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Report from Canada

Many Crises Beyond Québec

by Mark Wegierski

If Canada impinges at all on the average American's consciousness it is mostly as a tourist destination, "a large friendly country" with red-coated Mounties and vast areas of unspoiled wilderness. Canada is generally considered a safe, if staid, country; a reliable ally of the United States in which nothing of much significance can happen. However, it must be said that, in the last few decades, the processes of history (or post-history, i.e. of late modernity) have bitten Canada with a vengeance.

To put it succinctly: the quiet, orderly, lawful atmosphere of a British backwater (such as that portrayed in the *Anne of Green Gables* stories, and exemplified in the national motto of "peace, order, and good government") is gone forever, replaced by the great noise and conflict of the multifarious tendencies and currents of late modernity. Toronto, the largest city in Canada, located in the heart of the richest Canadian province of Ontario, is a huge, cosmopolitan entrepôt of over 4 million people, with over a third of its population of non-European descent.

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It is expected that by the year 2001 (according to projections based on the 1991 Canada Census), over half of Toronto's population will be of non-European descent, while Canadians of British descent will number less than a third of its population. This is a significant change from the situation in 1961 when visible minorities (persons of non-European descent), together with native Indians, numbered less than three percent of the city's population, while Canadians of British descent formed a large majority in the city. The massive immigration from the Third World began in the late 1960s. Since 1987, Canada has received approximately a quarter-million immigrants a year, most of them from the Third World, and Canada's population today is approaching 30 million. It must be understood that the overall increase in population of European descent is very low. Nearly all of the immigration inflow, and a substantial portion of the local birthrate, can be attributed to visible minorities. It is anticipated that by the year 2001, over 20 percent of the population of Canada will not be of European descent. Residents will be concentrated mainly in the three great metropolitan areas of Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver, where influences on culture will be greatly multiplied and augmented by the overwhelmingly urban focus of late modern civilization. Given the rapidly aging native-born population and continuing high immigration, the non-European population of the entire country could easily reach 40 to 50 percent by the year 2020.

Generally it can be said that the Canadian State is today "bursting at the seams." There is a constitutional crisis concentrated on the province of Quebec, where a majority of Quebec's French-speaking population inclines toward separating from Canada and creating an independent nation. Attitudes toward Quebec in English-speaking Canada have ranged from some degree of traditional disdain in earlier times, through a stance of hyper-accommodation in more recent times, to a sharp stance of opposition today — because of liberal fears of Quebec's "tribalism" and possible "illiberalism." An exasperated English-Canadian traditionalist might well be supportive of Quebec separatism, since the Québécois can be seen as trying to preserve their distinctive identity against the internationalist liberalism which overwhelmed English Canada decades ago.

The native Indians (officially called "Native Peoples," "Aboriginal Peoples," or "First Nations") are also loudly demanding recognition as a "distinct society" — though, of course, they expect to

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continue to receive huge support-payments and special privileges from the Federal and all other levels of government. Recently, in British Columbia (Canada's westernmost province) a land-claim settlement costing the provincial government hundreds of millions of dollars was reached. Many native Indians view virtually all of Canadian territory as "up for grabs," and the costs of these land-claim settlements will easily run intohe billions. In Canada's Far North, a semi-sovereign Inuit (Eskimo) country has already been established, called Nunavut.

In 1992, the province of Ontario, under the leadership of the New Democratic Party (NDP) — Canada's social democratic party — enacted legislation formally establishing employment equity, the Canadian version of affirmative action. These measures had been *in*formally in place for decades, and no countervailing legislation by the recently elected right-leaning (Progressive Conservative) government in Ontario is likely to change this. There is a general tendency in today's Canada to promote women (i.e. feminists) and visible minorities into government positions at all levels, while the private sector has, according to some reports, been even more effective in these procedures than the government bureaucracies.

It must be added that the country has virtually no armed forces; does not maintain any kind of effective control over its borders; and sustains a national debt that is reaching $600 billion Canadian ($1.00 Canadian equals about $0.72 US), a debt which is significantly more per capita than in the U.S. The idea that Canada has adopted some kind of immigration policy better than that of the United States, focused on "quality" immigrants (as was argued in the *National Review* article, "The Immigration Debate: Facts and Fancies" by Peter Brimelow, February 26, 1996, pp.44-47) is questionable. First of all, Canada receives many more immigrants *per capita* than the United States. Even the Left-liberal media in Canada view American immigration policy as "very tough" in relation to what goes on in Canada.

"...the country has virtually no armed forces; does not maintain any kind of effective control over its borders; and sustains a national debt ... which is significantly more per capita than in the U.S."

Canada has been driven into its current state by over thirty years of Left-liberal governance by the Liberal Party, supported by the New Democrats. "The great leader," Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Canada's Prime Minister from 1968 to 1984 (with the exception of a few months in 1979-1980), to a large extent imposed his Left-liberal vision on the whole country. This was in fact an incredibly intensive revolution. Trudeau's forerunner and promoter was Liberal Prime Minister Lester Pearson, who governed from 1963 to 1968. He initiated the whole process by the repudiation in February 1965 of the traditional Canadian flag, on which the Union Jack figured prominently, and the subsequent negation of all the British roots, traditions and institutions of Canada. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who governed from 1984 to 1993 as the leader of the Progressive Conservative Party, a party almost wholly co-opted by Left-liberalism, significantly increased Third World immigration from its already high rates under the Trudeau regime. In 1987, he moved the immigration numbers up to about a quarter-million per year, where they have remained ever since. In Trudeau's last year in office no more than 54,000 immigrants were received. Because of his carrying through of the Canada-US Free Trade deal, as well as NAFTA, and of his institution of the highly-unpopular Goods & Services Tax (GST — the Canadian equivalent of a value-added tax) Brian Mulroney is conventionally considered as "very right-wing." To condemn Mulroney as *too liberal* would be seen in Canada as a sign of "swamp-fever" politics. Mulroney also uttered some sharp rhetoric about "fighting the deficit," but, in fact, the growth of the Canadian national debt curve under his government was practically logarithmic.

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In this entire period, with the ongoing repudiation of Canada's British and European roots, the myth of a "multicultural" state was hurriedly manufactured. It may be said, however, from the perspective of the last few years, that what is emerging in Canada is *one*, all-powerful, hyperliberal culture, with the most multiracial population on Earth. Canada, it seems, has become the waystation of the world.

"Any ideas of true immigration reform constitute a distinctly utopian project in Canada. The Immigration Association of Canada (IAC) ...Is a tiny voice crying in the wilderness."

Expressing any of these sentiments would terminate the career of a politician who dared to utter them in public.

Any ideas of true immigration reform constitute a distinctly utopian project in Canada. The Immigration Association of Canada (IAC), the main immigration-reform group, is a tiny voice crying in the wilderness. The right-leaning Reform Party, which claims to have the largest federal party organization, and has 52 seats in the federal Parliament, has promised to lower immigration to 100,000-150,000 persons per year, and institute such commonsense measures as effective screening and deportation of persons with criminal records, but its chances of leading the government after the next election are remote. The governing Liberal Party (which won 177 of the 295 seats in the Federal election of 1993) is edging towards its goal of an annual immigration of one percent of the current population, which would today be 300,000 persons. For some reason, this one percent figure has become accepted as a virtually scientifically infallible optimum for immigration, without considering such sobering statistics as the fact that in two decades, if starting from zero, over 22 percent of the population would be foreign-born.

One of the most prominent figures of Canadian dissent is David Frum, who is busy making his career in neoconservative circles in the U.S. One of his earlier pieces in *Saturday Night*, one of the main magazines of Canada's Left-liberal establishment (which is now, incredibly, considered by the Canadian Left to be in the hands of the neoconservatives!) endorsed the high-immigration policies of the Mulroney government as supposedly constituting a method for reducing "big government." Andrew Coyne, also considered "very right-wing" in Canada, actually argues for an even more wide-open immigration, on the grounds that it would get the economy moving. The Fraser Institute, Canada's most prominent right-wing think tank, focuses almost exclusively on economics. One of its media analysis packages suggested that issues of immigration were being treated in an extraordinarily harsh and negative light by the mainline Canadian media — i.e., immigration wasn't being praised enough!! The National Citizens' Coalition (NCC) is also heavily economic and fiscal in focus, mostly uninterested in social and cultural debate. A few small groups like the Voice of Canadians, and a few prominent media people like Michael Coren and Peter Worthington, can hardly be considered as constituting a meaningful infrastructure. It should also be noted that the regional subcultures of Western Canada, notably in the province of Alberta, are somewhat more friendly to some kinds of conservatism, and are able to support a right-leaning newsmagazine, *Alberta Report* — published in British Columbia as *B.C. Report*, and in Saskatchewan and Manitoba as *Western Report*. However, the critically-active persons and resources available to Left-liberals outnumber all the right-leaning groups (including those of the most nominal or dubious provenance) by astronomical factors. The situation for traditional Canada today can probably be fairly described as hopeless.

Every state and nation comes to know and move through the crisis of late modernity in different ways. Although the opponents of the system are not rotting in gulags, Canada's is not a society that is truly free, nor is it built on the authentic will of its majority populations. □

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Re: La Francophonie

Lessons from France: How English in the U.S. might benefit from international advocacy

Report by Gerda Bikales

Though I can hardly say it without a chuckle, my French acquaintances assure me that there is nothing funny about the word "francophonie," a term coined in 1880 by an obscure geographer wanting to denote the totality of people and countries utilizing the French language in some fashion. Today it is a serious word applied to a serious purpose, which French people readily understand and approve.

Watching in anguish as English steadily forged ahead to become the world's foremost international language, France has not stood idly by. Starting in the sixties, the French government undertook a series of counter moves to hold the line on the erosion of French around the world. In 1965, it signed a bilateral accord with Quebec, making teachers of French available to the Province. The following year, a high level commission for the defense of French was chartered, and a year later an international association of French-speaking parliamentarians was launched. The push for a still stronger international organization for the defense of French came largely from the newly independent African states, anxious to preserve the language of their colonial past as a bridge to the modern world and to one another, and wishing to see its prestige restored. In response to these concerns, the High Council for *la francophonie* was created in 1984, and held its first summit meeting two years later, attracting representatives from 41 countries.

Bureaucratically, *la francophonie* was initially given a very visible presence within the office of the Prime Minister, then attached to the Ministry of Culture. The Government of President Jacques Chirac transferred it recently to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where it enjoys a quasi-autonomous sub-cabinet status of considerable importance. The move to the ministry of Foreign Affairs is significant: language is perceived as a component of French foreign policy.

La francophonie has evolved a three-pronged mission that is clear, widely known and readily accepted by the French public. It is, first and foremost, to expand the reach of the French language across the world. A related objective is the creation of conditions favorable to the development of the French culture and civilization wherever. Finally, it is the vehicle for promoting a sense of solidarity among all French speaking countries, rewarding them economically and politically for their loyalty. So successful have the French been in keeping their former colonies in the French camp that the President of Benin, host of the sixth summit held in his country last December, chided President Chirac for France's insufficient adhesion to *la francophonie.* This pique brought a promise from the French president, who at times has been known to slip into fluent English, that he will soon issue an executive order mandating that all cabinet members traveling abroad speak French in public.

The importance of *la francophonie* was underlined by the presence at the summit of the French president, who came despite a series of crippling strikes that paralyzed his country. Jean Chretien of Canada was there, and so was the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros-Ghali. The summit was a fine opportunity, of

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course, for the head of that troubled organization to court votes in his re-election bid among the countries in attendance. But should he be unsuccessful in his quest for a second term as Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros-Ghali need not worry about his future employment: the delegates decided to create a Secretariat of *la francophonie*, to be headed by a Secretary-General and based precisely on the United Nations model. The well-known French-speaking Egyptian diplomat would appear to be the ideal candidate for this position.

The Benin summit admitted its forty-ninth member: Moldavia, formerly part of the Soviet Union, now an independent republic. Rumania and Bulgaria, former Eastern bloc countries in which French survived the imposition of extensive Russian language teaching, are full members. Poland, once very much in the French camp, has probably drifted too far into English to join up. Quebec is a member, *naturellement*. But so is New Brunswick — and so is the Canadian federation itself. Louisiana has acquired observer status.

Long-term planning on the future direction of *la francophonie* is carried out by the aptly-named "committee for reflection," which urged the rapid development of a competitive position for the French on the new information highways. France, an early leader in the computer revolution, has seen its advantage dissipate, in part because the field has progressed in English. The English language dominance in electronic communications is decried as a threat to cultural diversity, a threat to which *la francophonie* is pledged to respond with substantial investments to make the electronic highway more accessible and friendly to French-speakers.

While francophonie summitry has played out on an international scale, France has not neglected the interests of the French language at home. In 1992, taking no chances on any internal challenge to the supremacy of French, the constitution was amended to declare that "the language of the Republic is French." Further elaboration of this principle was enunciated by law in 1994. Recently, in a move to counter the popularity of English-language songs, radio and television stations have been ordered to devote forty percent of their music programs to songs in French. None of this has created much of a fuss. Unlike America, where any attempt to give a measure of legal protection to the national language is greeted with hysterical denunciations and predictions of an imminent fascist take-over, the need to protect the French nation's language is self-evident to its people.

There may be some useful lessons for Americans in the history of *la francophonie*, especially in the wake of several court rulings that endanger the various state and local laws protecting English as the common language of the U.S. Just as France's former colonies in Africa and Indochina have found it productive to pressure their formal colonial masters for the protection and promotion of French, so the former British colonies in North America in which English is under serious challenge may benefit from pressuring England to take the lead in the creation of an aggressive international body for the defense of English. Sri Lanka, India, and perhaps other countries where the cementing role of English has come to be appreciated, may wish to join North America in lobbying Her Majesty's government for such an organism. For no one in the English-speaking world — no, make that no one in the world — can benefit from a United States and Canada decimated by the assault of competing languages.

Anglophonia, anyone? □

Beware of Those Who Advocate Population Growth

"It may appear to be the interests of rulers, and the rich of a state, to force [i.e. rapidly increase] population, and thereby lower the price of labor, and consequently the expense of fleets and armies, and the cost of manufactures for foreign sale; but every attempt of the kind should be carefully watched and strenuously resisted by the friends of the poor, particularly when it comes under the deceitful garb of benevolence..." — Thomas Malthus, 1798

(Our thanks to Timothy Gawne of Silver Spring, Maryland for drawing our attention to this quotation.)

See the followjng article about Congress and population by Roy Beck.

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Federally Coerced Population Growth

House votes to add 130 million in 50 years

Analysis by Roy Beck

WASHINGTON — Given a chance to slow down the third-world-style population growth in the United States, the U.S. House of Representatives voted 238 to 183 on March 20 to continue a legal immigration level that would double U.S. population over the next century.

The roll calls on that and 14 other immigration-related issues March 18-20 offered Americans a rare look at the stances, values and commitment of U.S. representatives on issues of environmental protection, population growth and fairness to wage-earners. (The Senate had not yet acted at publication time.)

Until three years ago not a single member of the House would even introduce legislation to cut legal immigration. Now a near-majority of 183 representatives have voted for such a reduction.

Once current legal immigration volume was endorsed, the House voted 333-87 for legislation that would strengthen many efforts at curbing *illegal* immigration.

An analysis by THE SOCIAL CONTRACT of the overall records of each of the 435 members of the House revealed complex patterns of voting. Neither party earned the gratitude of the majority of Americans who want the federal government to stop forcing population growth. Yet, both parties also produced a small minority of their members who were true champions of population stabilization and of the American worker.

- There were 16 representatives who voted consistently on the side of reduced population growth and reduced importation of foreign competition to American workers. (See box of "16 Top Leaders For Immigration Cuts.") Of that select group, 10 were Democrats and 6 were Republicans..
- The votes of 51 other members could be considered to have been, on balance, supportive of cuts in population growth and foreign labor importation. (See box of "Other Leaders For Cuts.") Republicans were dominant in this group, outnumbering Democrats 41-10.
- On the other end of the spectrum, 71 representatives consistently voted for higher population growth and more importation of foreign workers. (See box on "71 Consistent Voters For High Immigration, Population.") They came from 30 states and were predominantly Republicans (55 of them).
- The voting records of the nearly 300 other representatives were mixed. Many voted against cuts in legal and illegal immigration but also opposed efforts to increase the importation of temporary workers. Others voted just the opposite. On balance, the voting records of all of them would keep immigration levels high.

Most Important Vote On Legal Numbers

Lamar Smith (R-Texas) had bulldogged an immigration bill through his own subcommittee and then the House Judiciary Committee that would cut both illegal and legal immigration. Heavy lobbying

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by business and immigrant rights groups had resulted in the committee's greatly watering down many of Smith's original provisions by the time they reached the floor of the House.

The most significant House vote came on an amendment by Sam Brownback (R-Kan.), Dick Chrysler (R-Mich.) and Howard Berman (D-Cal.) that removed the Smith bill's provisions for halting family chain migration.

It was the first time that House members have been able to vote on whether to reverse a federally forced population growth program that inadvertently was created by Congress in 1965. That was when Congress acted to change immigration law and started a form of family chain migration that eventually snowballed annual foreign admissions to quadruple the level of traditional immigration.

Under current fertility and immigration, the U.S. population — which has grown from 203 million in 1970 to 265 million today, largely because of immigration — is projected to surpass 400 million soon after the year 2050, soaring past 500 million by the end of the 21st century.

Immigration is turning the country into something enormously different than what it otherwise would be. Without above-replacement-level immigration since 1970, the U.S. population would have stabilized at 247 million, rather than hurtling toward 500 million and beyond.

The legislation before the House would eventually have reduced total legal immigration by around 30 percent. While critics described that as a Draconian cut, it actually would have moved the level only back to the very high level that existed before the 1990 Congress created another jump in numbers. The proposal would have led to modest reductions in U.S. population growth over the next half-century, still allowing the population to pass 350 million by 2050. But it would have removed the sense of universal right for immigrants to split from their families and home country, move to the United States and then expect to send for their adult relatives to move here, too. And it would have been an important reversal of trends of the last three decades and perhaps would have paved the way to deeper cuts later.

The 238-183 vote to continue to force the current high level of legal immigration and population growth was closer than it might first look. If only 28 representatives had voted differently, the cuts in legal family chain migration would have stayed in the bill.

16 TOP LEADERS FOR IMMIGRATION CUTS

These U.S. representatives had the most consistent record of voting **against** higher immigration and **against** federally forced population growth during roll call voting March 18-20, 1996.

None of them voted for any of the four key amendments that would result in higher immigration and/or importation of temporary foreign workers. And each of them voted for at least two of the three other key measures that would result in lower illegal or temporary immigration.

California
Beilenson, A. (D)
Rohrabacher, D. (R)
Royce, Edward (R)

Delaware
Castle, Michael (R)

Illinois
Lipinski, William (D)

Kansas
Meyers, Jan (R)

Minnesota
Minge, David (D)

Mississippi
Taylor, Gene (D)

Nebraska
Bereuter, Doug (R)

North Dakota
Pomeroy, Earl (D)

Ohio
Traficant, James (D)

Oregon
DeFazio, Peter (D)

Tennessee
Duncan, John (R)

Texas
Bryant, John (D)
Wilson, Charles (D)

Wisconsin
Obey, David (D)

Three Last-Minute Influences On Voting

It is likely that the Smith bill cuts in legal immigration would have survived if not for three last-minute developments:

1. President Bill Clinton reversed himself and declared that the cuts in admissions of adult relatives should be opposed.

When the bi-partisan Commission on Immigration Reform had recommended similar cuts last summer, Clinton had endorsed them. He had appointed the chairwoman, Barbara Jordan, whom he praised then, and again at her funeral this year, as a stateswoman of the highest integrity. But with the revered former congresswoman in her grave, Clinton in March gave new meaning to the vow "'til death us do part" and divorced himself from his commitment to Jordan's reforms. The reasons for his change of mind have not yet emerged. The major news media have made much of Clinton's close ties to various lawyers' organizations. The National Association of Immigration Lawyers is the most tenacious advocate of — and one of the most powerful lobbies to maintain — the high immigration that fuels their livelihood.

Democrat John Bryant of Texas was furious at what appeared to be a White House double-cross on

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the very day he was his party's manager of House floor debate on the bill. "It is a simple case of caving in to political pressure," he said, expressing "contempt" for the "politically cowardly" reversal by the White House.

2. Some Republicans used floor speeches to make fiery partisan attacks on the Democrats.

While Bryant was trying to do his part to hold together a bi-partisan coalition behind the Smith bill, several Republicans took the floor to denounce Democratic management of the House in the past, saying the country could only get what it needed in immigration reform from the Republicans. Stunned, Bryant several times begged Republicans with whom he agreed about the need for reform to stop alienating Democrats who might vote for the reform. He was especially critical of Speaker Newt Gingrich who he said stooped to partisanship in his floor speech rather than showing the kind of bi-partisan leadership that might have won victory.

Gingrich and other top House Republican leaders, however, had never shown any interest in reforming legal immigration, abandoning Smith and attempting to load the provisions on illegal immigration with measures generally considered too harsh to gain Democratic votes.

3. The Christian Coalition's director of governmental relations sent House members a letter on the day of the vote and asked that legal immigration not be cut.

This was the final pressure of a coalition of conservative groups led by Grover Norquist of the Americans for Tax Reform which tried to turn Republicans away from Smith. The actions confounded Smith who said: "For the head of a tax group that's supposed to be looking out for taxpayers' money to oppose a bill that's going to save the taxpayer tens of billions of dollars every year is absolutely amazing." Norquist's energetic opposition to cuts in immigration became much more understandable in April when investigations by the news media revealed that Norquist was something of a double agent. Since Feb. 14, he had also been a registered lobbyist for Bill Gates' Microsoft Corp. which had led a highly public campaign to stop any legislation that might reduce its own ability to hire foreign workers instead of Americans.

Norquist persuaded the very conservative Christian Coalition to treat Smith's bill as a federal action that would contribute to the further decline of the American family. "At a time when the family needs all of the help it can get, the federal government should not be acting, as it does in this legislation, to keep families apart," the coalition director wrote. The letter said the coalition agrees that "a tightly controlled, well-regulated system of legal immigration, like the one we have now, is essential to the security of this country."

In the end, 75 Republicans deserted their own committee leadership and Smith's bill. "I would just like to plead with my fellow members," Brownback, the Kansas Republican, said before the vote, "we are a nation of immigrants. Congress should preserve this proud tradition."

Bryant originally had the task of holding at least enough Democratic votes to counteract the three or

52 OTHER LEADERS FOR CUTS

Although these U.S. representatives voted for one or two of the amendments that would result in higher importation of temporary workers, all voted **against** stripping legislation of provisions to cut legal immigration by halting family chain migration.

And all counterbalanced their votes for temporary worker programs by voting for an equal or larger number of the key measures that were designed to reduce other temporary immigration or illegal immigration.

Alabama
Bachus, S. (R)
Bevill, Tom (D)

California
Bilbray, Brian (R)
Bono, Sonny (R)
Calvert, Ken (R)
Cunningham, R. (R)
Gallegly, E. (R)
Horn, Steve (R)
Hunter, Duncan (R)

Colorado
Skaggs, David (D)

Connecticut
Franks, Gary (R)

Florida
Foley, Mark (R)
Gibbons, Sam (D)
Goss, Porter (R)
Scarborough, J. (R)
Shaw, Clay (R)

Illinois
Hyde, Henry (R)

Indiana
Burton, Don (R)
Buyer, Stephen (R)

Iowa
Ganske, Greg (R)
Leach, Jim (R)

Louisiana
Hayes, James (R)

Maryland
Ehrlich, Robert (R)
Gilchrest, W. (R)

Minnesota
Ramstad, Jim (R)

Missouri
Talent, James (R)

New Jersey
Felinghuysen, Rodney (R)
Martini, William (R)
Roukema, M. (R)

New Mexico
Skeen, Joe (R)

New York
Hinchey, M. (D)
Molinari, Susan (R)

Ohio
Hoke, Martin (R)
Kasich, John (R)
Ney, Robert (R)

Oklahoma
Isook, Ernest (R)

Tennessee
Clement, Bob (D)
Wamp, Zach (R

Texas
Barton, Joe (R)
Coleman, Ron (D)
Geren Pete (D)
Hall, Ralph (D)
Smith, Lamar (R)
Stenholm, C. (D)
Stockman, S. (R)

Virginia
Bateman, H. (R)
Goodlatte, Bob (R)
Sisisky, Norman (D)

Washington
Metcalf Jack (R)
Tate, Randy (R)

Wisconsin
Petri, Thomas (R)
Roth, Toby (R)
Sensenbrenner, James (R)

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four dozen Republicans who had been expected to follow conservative libertarian calls for a large flow of foreign workers.

But after the divisive partisan speeches on the floor and Clinton's surprise announcement, 162 Democrats voted to continue the largest permanent foreign worker importation in American history. Only 24 Democrats stood with Bryant, one of the House's top champions of the American worker and the environment, who had cried out at the beginning of debate, "Not one single American job should be jeopardized by U.S. immigration policy."

71 CONSISTENT VOTERS FOR HIGH IMMIGRATION, POPULATION

These U.S. Representatives had the most consistent record of voting **in favor** of higher immigration and **in favor** of federally forced population growth during roll call voting March 18-20, 1996.

All of them voted to strip legislation of provisions to cut legal immigration.

Most of them also voted for other amendments to increase the importation of temporary workers.

The ones marked (*) did not vote in favor of the temporary worker programs but neither did they vote for any of the key amendments that would lower importation of workers or cut illegal immigration.

Compared to those who voted the opposite way, the net effect of the voting of each of these representatives would be to force tens of millions of additional foreign workers and their families into the local communities across the United States during the next 50 years.

Alabama
Browder, Glen (D)
Cramer, Robert (D)
Arizona
Hayworth, J.D. (R)
California
Campbell, Tom (R)
Dooley, Calvin (D)
Kim, Jay (R)
Lewis, Jerry (R)
* Lofgren, Zoe (D)
Thomas, William (R)
Colorado
Allard, Wayne (R)
McInnis, Scott (R)
Connecticut
Johnson, Nancy (R)
Florida
Deutsch, Peter (D)
* Diaz-Balart, Lincoln (R)
Mica, John (R)
Miller, Dan (R)
Peterson, Douglas (D)
* Ros-Lehtinen, Ileana (R)
Young, W.C. (R)
Georgia
Bishop, Sanford (D)
Linder, John (R)
Illinois
LaHood, Ray (R)
Manzullo, Donald (R)
Indiana
Hamilton, Lee (D)
McIntosh, David (R)
Souder, Mark (R)
Kansas
Brownback, Sam (R)
Tiahrt, Todd (R)
Louisiana
Livingston, Bob (R)
Maryland
Morella, Constance (R)
Massachusetts
* Studds, Gerry (D)
Michigan
Camp, Dave (R)
Chrysler, Dick (R)
Hockstra, Peter (R)
Knollenberg, Joe (R)
Smith, Nick (R)
Upton, Fred (R)
Missouri
Clay, Bill (D)
Skelton, Ike (D)
Nebraska
Christensen, Jon (R)
Nevada
Ensign, John (R)
New Jersey
LoBiondo, Frank (R)
New York
Forbes, Michael (R)
Gilman, Benjamin (R)
Houghton, Amo (R)
Kelly, Sue (R)
* King, Peter (R)
Lazio, Rick (R)
McHugh, John (R)
Paxon, Bill (R)
Walsh, James (R)
North Carolina
Hefner, W. G. (D)
Myrick, Sue (R)
Ohio
LaTourette, Steven (R)
Pryce, Deborah (R)
Oregon
Bunn, Jim (R)
Pennsylvania
English, Phil (R)
Fox, Jon (R)
Goodling, William (R)
Walker, Robert (R)
South Carolina
Sanford, Mark (R)
Spratt, John (D)
Tennessee
Gordon, Bart (D)
Texas
Armey, Richard (R)
Bonilla, Henry (R)
Utah
Hansen, James (R)
Virginia
Boucher, Rick (D)
Payne, L.F. (D)
Washington
Dunn, Jennifer (R)
White, Rick (R)
Wisconsin
Gunderson, Steve (R)

287 OTHER HIGH-IMMIGRATION VOTERS

Although all of the other 287 U.S. representatives showed in their voting at least some concern about the effect of immigration on labor markets or on third-world-style U.S. population growth, the net effect of the positions for which they voted would be higher population growth and importation of foreign labor.

If you do not find your U.S. representative in the three other lists, he or she is among these 287 "other high-immigration voters," unless he or she was one of the following voters who were absent on too many votes to allow for a clear assessment: **California**, George Radanovich (R), Pete Stark (D), Maxine Waters (D);**Florida,** Harry Johnston (D), Clay Shaw (R), Joe Scarborough (R); **Illinois,** Cardiss Collins (D); **Massachusetts,** John Moakley (D); **Ohio,** Lewis Stokes (D); **West Virginia**, Robert Wise (D).

Of the 287 Representatives in this list, 113 voted **against** stripping the legislation of cuts in legal immigration. But they voted for temporary worker programs that would add as many or more people to the U.S. labor pools as would have been kept out through the proposed legal cuts.

The other 167 of this group voted **in favor** of blocking cuts in legal immigration. They are not included in the list of 71 "top high-immigration supporters" because they voted against temporary foreign worker programs. They also tended to vote for one or two of the key measures that would get tougher on stopping illegal immigration and on policing temporary worker programs.

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Signs of Interest In Reform Still Strong

In historical context, the defeat of efforts to reduce legal immigration contained strong signs of momentum in favor of reform. Until three years ago, not a single member of the House would even introduce legislation to cut legal immigration. Now a near-majority of 183 representatives have voted for such a reduction.

"I say we cannot responsibly avoid the bottom line conclusion that we have a huge number of people entering the country legally, and it is increasing our population rapidly..." **— Rep. Bryant**

Although the House GOP leadership showed no interest in such reform, two out of every three of the Republican members voted for cuts, perhaps suggesting that the power of grassroots sentiment is breaking through establishment barriers. A national party survey of 134,000 local GOP leaders found them opposing current immigration by a margin of 5 to 1. With that kind of popular support, the middle and back-bench Republicans very well may rise to fight another day.

Despite the Democrats' overwhelming rejection of cutting the admissions of hundreds of thousands of adult relatives, they did show great concern about the effects of other kinds of immigration on the labor market. With speeches denouncing the unfair competition to American workers, most Democrats consistently cast votes in ways to prevent the *temporary* importation of workers. But the power of immigrant sentimentality, ethnic lobbies and Clinton's lead seemed to cloud most Democrats' ability to understand that family chain migration is also a federal program that in effect imports massive numbers of foreign workers — only these come *permanently*. Many Democrats might eventually realize that importing permanent foreign workers is at least as damaging to U.S. labor as importing temporary ones, especially if they listen more to the grassroots of their party which polls show are only slightly less enthusiastic than Republicans for reductions.

The unwillingness of pro-immigration lobbies and leaders in Congress to compromise at all on legal immigration may help persuade reformers to come back with proposed cuts deep enough to bring the significant relief that the nation appears ready and eager for. The recent Roper Poll commissioned by Negative Population Growth (NPG) found 70 percent of Americans want annual immigration lowered from the million average of the 1990s to below 300,000. Of that percentile, 54 percent want it cut below 100,000. Of that group, 20 percent want an end to all immigration. A more recent USA Today/CNN poll showed that 59 percent of registered Republicans favor a plank in the party platform which calls for a five-year moratorium allowing no immigration at all.

Politicians working toward a level of 250,000 or 150,000 might tap into a groundswell of popular support far more enthusiastic and persuasive than reformers were able to stir up this time with their timid effort to get the numbers below 600,000.

Finally, congressional interest in deeper cuts in immigration is more likely if members connect their actions to the effects on the total population of the country.

The March debate in the House may have included more discussion about population size than at any other time in U.S. history. When he addressed the House, Republican Bob Goodlatte of Virginia held up a large chart showing U.S. population growth if legal immigration isn't cut. Democrats Bryant from Texas and Anthony Beilenson from California led the way with several impassioned speeches about the population traumas likely to result from immigration.

"I say we cannot responsibly avoid the bottom line conclusion that we have a huge number of people entering the country legally," Bryant said, "and it is increasing our population rapidly. ...We either deal with legal immigration or we admit that we are not going to be serious and not going to have enough courage to deal with the really central problem facing this country. ...I would just suggest that not one member of this body can responsibly stand on this floor and talk about ... how we have to maintain national security to protect future generations and not at the same time recognize that we must manage the population growth of this country in a responsible way." □

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Chinese Immigrants Love the U.S. Welfare System

An interview with Professor Norman Matloff

IDA CHOI — *This program has been urging listeners to write to Congress to oppose current proposals on immigration reform, saying that the proposals are bad for us Chinese. You [Dr. Matloff] have a different opinion. Please tell us your background, and what your view is.*

NORMAN MATLOFF — I teach computer science at UC-Davis. I want to explain why immigration reform is good for the Chinese community. Recently we've had too many immigrants. No one is saying that immigrants are bad. My wife and my father are immigrants. But the current high levels of immigration are hurting the Chinese community.

Po Wong, executive director of the Chinese Newcomers Service Center in San Francisco, explained it well. He said we have too many immigrants. He really supports immigrants, and helping immigrants is his job. But he said, "There is more immigration each year than the community can absorb." In all aspects — jobs, education, housing, health, social services, etc. — the Chinese community can't cope with such a high rate of influx of immigrants each year.

Why is the rate so high? In 1990, Congress passed a bill increasing the yearly immigration levels by 40 percent. Even before that time, the levels were too high, but after 1990 it has been even worse. We should reduce these yearly quotas.

The first ones to feel the adverse impacts of the heavy influx are the earlier-arriving immigrants, who are negatively impacted by the later-arriving ones. ...Look at the sewing factories in Chinatown. The wages are way down! They were low to begin with, but they are even lower now. Why? Because too many new immigrants are looking for this kind of work. So, of course, the employers can pay lower wages.

IDA CHOI — *But why should the reduction include canceling the eligibility of siblings of naturalized citizens to immigrate?*

NORMAN MATLOFF — This is a very important point. Look at the 1965 immigration act which set up this idea of family-reunification-based immigration. What does "family reunification" really mean? Say a hypothetical Ms. Chan is here in the U.S., a naturalized U.S. citizen, and she has a sister in Hong Kong. Congress' idea was that Ms. Chan's sister might really miss Ms. Chan, and want to be with her, so Congress gave the sister the chance to immigrate.

We all know that it doesn't work that way. Our Ms. Chan's sister isn't coming to the U.S. because she misses Ms. Chan — her motive is economics! She's not coming for family reasons.

So since Congress' goal for family reunification is not being met, why should Ms. Chan's sister be able to immigrate, whereas other Hong Kong people without siblings cannot? My point is that the reality of family reunification is not consistent with what Congress has in mind when it set up this law. So there is no reason to continue having family reunification-based immigration.

On January 31, 1996 Dr. Norman Matloff of the University of California at Davis, who is fluent in Chinese, was a guest on a Chinese language talk show (KEST-AM) in San Francisco on the topic of immigration reform. Ida Choi, the host, warned Dr. Matloff before the program that he would receive a lot of hostile calls about his position on limiting immigration. She was quite surprised to hear results to the contrary. Dr. Matloff has translated the transcript of the show from the Chinese, and we reprint excerpts.

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DAVID PANG — *But what about the backlog of already-processed applications, people now on the waiting list?...*

NORMAN MATLOFF — ...We have so many immigration-related problems. I mentioned that the workers in the Chinatown sewing factories are really hurt by today's high levels of immigration. Congress has to consider the well-being of those who are already here.

Look at education. Our schools in California are getting poorer and poorer. California ranks 43rd out of 50 states in per-pupil spending! What's the problem? The problem is that we have too many kids, and that problem in turn is mainly due to immigration.

Look at welfare. In 1994 there were nearly seven times as many elderly immigrants on welfare as in 1982 — a seven-fold increase in the short timespan of 12 years! One analyst has calculated that each American family will have to pay $3,000 in taxes in the next ten years just to cover the welfare used by elderly immigrants. This is coming out of your pocket, out of my pocket. Meanwhile we are not doing enough for our native poor.

"I don't know how to say this in a nice way, but elderly Chinese immigrants have become especially heavy users of welfare, relative to other nationalities."

IDA CHOI — *So you feel there is a major problem with welfare.*

NORMAN MATLOFF — You were correct earlier when you suggested that reforms in immigration and welfare policies are related. Last year when the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform recommended cutting back on family reunification, they specifically mentioned immigrant use of welfare, especially by elderly immigrants.

Concerning Chinese, I don't know how to say this in a nice way, but elderly Chinese immigrants have become especially heavy users of welfare, relative to other nationalities. By "Chinese" I mean people from China, Taiwan and Hong Kong. Among all elderly Chinese immigrants who immigrated to California between 1980 and 1987, 55 percent — more than half! — were on welfare in 1990. That Chinese rate is nearly triple the Mexican rate of 21 percent.

IDA CHOI — *So there are lots of cracks in the welfare system. Sure, there are a lot of elderly Chinese who get welfare, so there must be at least some who abuse it.*

NORMAN MATLOFF — I must correct you. It is not just "some" recipients who abuse it. It's virtually all of them. Say a daughter in the U.S. applies for her elderly mother to immigrate. The daughter must certify to the INS that she has sufficient income and financial assets to support her mother. So the daughter herself has certified that her mother doesn't need welfare. Since all the immigrants have to pass this screening, you can see that the vast majority of the recipients don't need the money; their children themselves have certified that the seniors don't need the money.

The problem is that the children have no intention of supporting their parents. Even though they sign the form, they already have made plans for their parents to go on welfare as soon as the three-year waiting period ends. The parents have the same plan.

Even the Chinese community activists admit this. For example, Yvonne Lee, head of the Coalition of Asian Pacific Americans, has said that if welfare were not available to immigrant seniors, their children would not sponsor their parents to immigrate. So it's very clear that they plan from the outset for the seniors to go on welfare; the seniors are coming here for that purpose.

...Again you shouldn't say that only "some" recipients don't need the money. Their own children certified just the opposite. Also, most of the elderly recipients come from middle-class families of above-average income. Seventy-five percent of the children of the recipients have household incomes above the California average.

A CALLER, MS. NG FROM LAFAYETTE — *I have two points to make. I immigrated here in 1980. We have to take care of those who came here at that time, so we really should cut down on the number of new immigrants we accept now. Second, medical care is really expensive. Some children put their parents on welfare so the seniors can get Medi-Cal. I really agree with the professor.*

NORMAN MATLOFF — ...The caller mentioned the key point. American medical care is expensive. Given

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that, the U.S. should not be allowing so many seniors to immigrate. The elderly have heavy needs for medical care. So, its best for them to stay back in China or Taiwan, where medical care is much cheaper than here. So it makes sense to cut down on the number of elderly immigrants.

A CALLER, MR. MUI FROM OAKLAND — *I completely agree with the professor. I disagree with the last caller, who said we should support those earlier immigrants who are already here. Those old folks' children should support them. The children signed support forms. Where does all that SSI welfare money come from? It comes from the Social Security fund, which longtime immigrants like me worked hard to contribute to. That money shouldn't be going to immigrants who haven't worked in the U.S. And the budget deficit is going to harm all of our grandchildren.*

A CALLER, MS. WONG FROM BERKELEY — *...I have a friend who immigrated to the U.S. ten years ago, by herself, not bringing her family. But through family reunification laws, she has now, directly and indirectly, brought in over 100 people. Imagine: one person pulls in 100!*

NORMAN MATLOFF — ...David [Pang, co-host] said that Chinese are ashamed to take welfare. Actually, it's just exactly the opposite. I've interviewed many Chinese social workers on this very point. I remember one social worker in particular. When I asked her whether the seniors are embarrassed to take welfare, she laughed out loud. She thought it was really funny. The notion that they would consider welfare to be a stigma was a joke to her. They aren't ashamed at all. It's not a stigma to them.

IDA CHOI — *They feel that welfare is their right.*

NORMAN MATLOFF — Yes, but the Mexican seniors are just the opposite. Social workers who work with Mexican immigrants say that it is a big stigma to them. So no wonder the Chinese SSI rate is nearly triple the Mexican rate. One can apply for SSI after three years in the U.S. The data show that most Chinese immigrant recipients apply immediately after the three-year period ends, whereas the Mexican recipients only do so after ten years....

Look at my computer science students. More than half of them are Chinese-Americans, U.S. citizens. But computer companies hire foreign students instead. Foreign students are willing to work for low salaries, because the employer sponsors them for a green card. So my Chinese-American students — again, they are U.S. citizens — either they can't find jobs or find less-desirable jobs (say, selling computers instead of designing them).

A CALLER, MS. CHAN FROM SAN FRANCISCO — *...but I want to say that on the welfare issue, the law is just too lax. Welfare is easy to get so they take it.*

NORMAN MATLOFF — Right. Actually, I blame those Chinese organizations. For example, Professor Bill Ong Hing from Stanford [and head of the Immigrant Legal Resources Center in San Francisco], he's really radical. Whatever Congress proposes, he opposes. Those Chinese community organizations don't represent the opinions of most Chinese.

In response to the caller, my point is that as soon as Congress makes any proposal to tighten up immigration eligibility for welfare, the Chinese organizations immediately rise up in loud protest. A week ago they organized a rally in San Francisco's Chinatown, where they were saying the same thing. Henry Der of Chinese for Affirmative Action said that he would be meeting with Senator Finestein, telling her not to tighten up on immigrant eligibility for welfare.

"More than half [of my computer science students] are Chinese-Americans, U.S. citizens. But computer companies hire foreign students instead ... [who are] willing to work for a green card."

A CALLER, MRS. NG IN SAN FRANCISCO — *A lot of people get welfare but secretly work for cash. They put the money in someone else's name, use the money to start businesses, buy houses. Everyone knows it. They do a lot of traveling.*

A CALLER, MRS. YU IN SAN FRANCISCO'S NORTH BEACH DISTRICT — ...My friend worked during those three years [before eligibility] but quit immediately when the three years were up, to get welfare. Then she arranged for her two sons and daughter to immigrate. Then all three children went back to China to find a spouse. After they got married, the brought over all the in-laws as immigrants. They're all getting welfare...

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A CALLER, MS. SO FROM OAKLAND — *The welfare rules are too lax. I know Hong Kong immigrants who work in remodeling. They get paid in cash, get a business loan in someone else's name — and yet still they get on welfare.*

NORMAN MATLOFF —...Last year Self Help for the Elderly [a politically powerful Chinese organization in San Francisco] announced in the Chinese newspaper that they would hold a public hearing on welfare-reform legislation pending in Congress. ...The Self Help officials gave speeches about how "mean-spirited" Congress was to consider such legislation, etc. But in the question-and-answer period which followed, the most common question from the audience was "I want to go on vacation to China or Taiwan or Canada. Will that jeopardize my welfare checks?" This is ridiculous! Welfare recipients are supposed to be poor, not taking international vacations....

After three years, the children's responsibility for their parents ends completely, under the law. The seniors can apply for welfare no matter how rich the children are. Say a son applies for his mother to immigrate. He has to fill out form I-134. The form says that his own responsibility ends after three years. But the form also says the goal of the form is that his mother will never go on welfare, even after the three years. But the son will sign the form, even though he's already planning for his mother to go on welfare.

[*At this point in the program a caller suggests it is unfair to link questions of immigrants and welfare.*]

...You say they are applying for welfare legally... that's true in some senses, not true in others. When they apply for welfare, they are doing so legally. But the sense in which it is illegal is that when they applied to immigrate they were asked, "Are you likely to become a public charge?" Their children were asked that too. Say a man applies to immigrate who is over 65 and has no real money of his own. Of course he is going to go on welfare! In fact, he and his children plan that from the outset. Yet they sign these forms under penalty of perjury, saying he won't go on welfare. That's illegal.

Now again I emphasize, we are not just talking about "some" seniors — 55 percent of the Chinese seniors who immigrated during the 1980s were on welfare as of 1990. Every indication, including from statements of organizations like Self Help, is that the percentage is even higher today in 1996....

The caller also said that immigration is good for economy. That is not really true. Look at what the earlier caller said about there being an oversupply of labor, that it is hard to find good jobs. Think about it. Which line of work has a labor shortage today? None. It's just the opposite — parents today are worried that their children won't find good jobs when they grow up, they won't be able to buy a house, etc. I agree that many immigrants work very hard, but we already have enough workers; we don't need more.

A CALLER, A MS. NG — *...the husband is working as a dentist, but he doesn't have a license. He gets paid in cash, and he doesn't pay taxes. And he gets welfare.*

IDA CHOI — *Where are they from?*

MS. NG — *Guandong Province [China]. He always goes back to Hong Kong and China to buy his dental equipment. He travels a lot. And he's on welfare. This is really an unfair world.*

NORMAN MATLOFF — ...We already have social problems and immigration is adding to that burden. Because of the high levels of immigration, our social problems become even harder to solve. ...Water is a problem. The California government forecasts that due to California's population growth, we are headed for really severe water shortages in about 10 years. That population growth is due mainly to immigration.

DAVID PANG — *Companies say they need to hire those foreign students, who are really talented, in order to maintain their competitive edge.*

NORMAN MATLOFF — Not true. Just the opposite. If you look at the computer industry awards for technological advances, you'll find that virtually all of them have been to U.S. natives. The companies want to hire foreign nationals because they are willing to work for low salaries. Even Sun Microsystems, one of the companies now lobbying against the Simpson bill as you mentioned, has publicly admitted that it hired low-salary foreign nationals.

[The complete transcript of the talk show is available on the internet from the Bay Area Coalition for Immigration Reform, Box 2457, San Francisco, CA 94126, (415) 397-6669, <www5@netcom.com>] □

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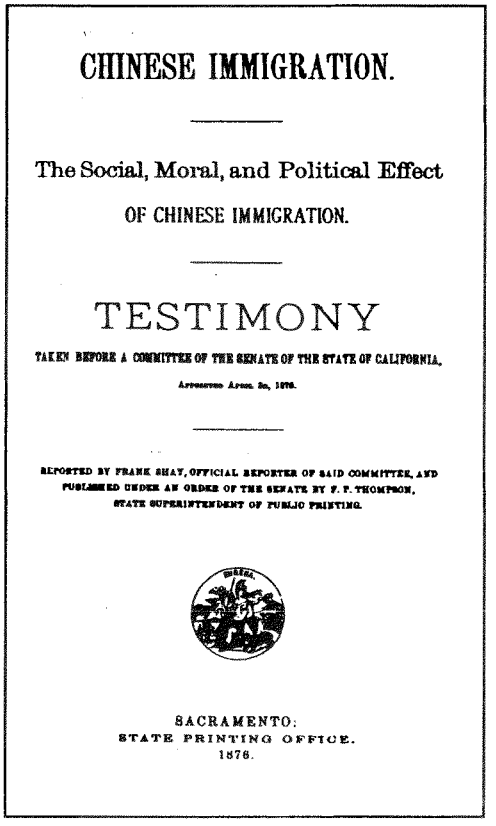
Over a century ago, citizens were concerned about job security and public order

1876 California Report on Chinese Immigration

Edited by Wayne Lutton

Few today appreciate why a popular groundswell of support emerged for the exclusion of Chinese immigrants in the last century. A review of this neglected period of our history reveals that it was American workers who led the drive to end the legal importation of Chinese contract laborers, and they did so in the face of fierce opposition from American businessmen who claimed, as do their contemporary counterparts, that enterprises would fail or be forced to move overseas if they did not have a steady supply of contract workers laboring for a fraction of what freemen earned.



CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

The Social, Moral, and Political Effect

OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

TESTIMONY

TAKEN BEFORE A COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA,

REPORTED BY FRANK SHAY, OFFICIAL REPORTER OF SAID COMMITTEE, AND PUBLISHED UNDER AN ORDER OF THE SENATE BY F. P. THOMPSON, STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC PRINTING.

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1876.

In response to public demand, in April, 1876, the California State Senate created a special committee to investigate the impact of Chinese Immigration, chaired by State Senator Creed Haymond. Hearings were conducted in San Francisco and Sacramento and among the many witnesses called were U. S. diplomats with experience in China; American businessmen who contracted with Chinese syndicates for laborers; the presidents of The Six Companies (the U.S.-based Chinese societies that controlled the Chinese workers and their communities); Chinese who themselves opposed the abuses of the contract labor system; law enforcement officers; public health officials; and educators.

The following year the California Legislature sent an Address and Memorial to Congress, demanding that federal action be taken to halt Chinese immigration. The special committee's findings were widely circulated and played a major role in forming public opinion. It was not until 1882 that the first of the Chinese Exclusion Acts became law, providing for the exclusion of Chinese laborers for a period of ten years.

We here reprint excerpts from the Report issued by the Committee, a copy of which is held by Park Library at Central Michigan University, Mt. Pleasant.

The first witness called was F.F. Low, former Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States to the Emperor of China. He described the prevailing wage rates for common laborers in China:

Q **The great mass of the immigrants here, of the Chinese, is of the very lowest order of Chinese, is it not?**

A They are the laboring classes, and, usually coming from seaport towns, might be

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considered the lowest class of laborers; the agricultural laborers ranking next to the officials.

Q **Where do we get the bulk of our immigration?**

A From the laboring classes.

Q **What are the customary wages of laborers in China?**

A From ten to twenty cents a day. Perhaps ten cents will be nearer the average for common laborers.

Q **They support themselves out of that?**

A Yes, sir (pp.6,7).

"It seems to me that a large Chinese immigration would cheapen labor to such a degree, as that white labor could not compete with them."

Testimony of W. J. Shaw, former District Attorney in San Francisco and two-term State Senator, on the potential labor impact of Chinese immigration:

Q **From what you have seen of those people, and from what you know of your own knowledge, what effect do you think a large emigration from that country to this would produce on our social and political condition?**

A It would have the most deplorable effects. It seems to me that a large Chinese immigration would cheapen labor to such a degree, as that white labor could not compete with them.

Q **Is not one of the greatest inducements the wages they get here — ten cents there and fifty and seventy-five cents here?**

A Yes, sir.

Q **Then, while we benefit them, they will do us as much injury, will they not?**

A I am not aware of their having been of any great service, except to persons desiring cheap labor. There are, of course, certain enterprises in this country that have been benefited by Chinese labor (pp.20-21;p.22,p.25).

Testimony of Rev. Otis Gibson, ten years a Methodist missionary in China who, at the time of the hearings, worked with the Chinese community in San Francisco. He explained how The Six Companies provided Chinese laborers:

> When a firm wants to employ a large number of Chinese, say one thousand, the manager goes to one of the companies, tells them he wants so many men and agrees to pay a certain price. If the company think they can do better by sending to China, they do so, and induce men to come out (p.31).

Testimony of George Duffield, long a member of the San Francisco police force, concerning crime:

Q **How is this population as to ciminal propensities?**

A They are a nation of thieves. I have never seen one that would not steal.

Q **Then nearly all will be criminals?**

A Yes, sir.

Q **Do you know anything of their spiriting away witnesses and compounding crimes?**

A Yes, sir. They will do it all the time — from the Presidents [of the six companies] down.

Q **Have they some means of settling cases outside of Court?**

A They all do it.

Q **And there is no means of getting testimony outside of the Chinese?**

A No, sir.

Q **Have they any regard for justice here?**

A No, sir; not a bit.

Q **How does their testimony stand in the Courts?**

A They think no more of taking an oath than they do of eating rice. They have no regard for oaths at all. Their own oaths they regard as sacred, and the only way you can get them to tell the truth is to cut off a rooster's head and burn China paper.

Q **Is it not often the case that on a preliminary examination there is testimony enough to convict a man, but when you come to the trial these same witnesses testify exactly the reverse, or else will not testify at all?**

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A Yes, sir.

Q **Do you know anything of parties being held in slavery?**

A. No men are held, but the women are all slaves. The women are in slavery of the most revolting kind (p.48).

"I have come to the conclusion that this immigration will, in the course of time, be a very serious thing for this state ... it will affect the country disastrously."

Testimony of Max Morgenthau, owner of four factories — the Mission Woolen Mills, Pioneer Woolen Mills, a jute factory and a candle and soap factory — who employed Chinese contract laborers:

Q **How many men do you employ?**

A In the neighborhood of two thousand.

Q **How many Chinamen?**

A Nearly half.

Q **How do the wages of the white men compare with those of the Chinamen?**

A They are from two hundred to three hundred per cent higher. If we had to employ only white men, we could not run our factories — we would have to stop them. When we want Chinamen, we go to some company and say we want so many men, and we get them. Their wages we pay the company, or the man who gets them for us, taking his receipt.

Q **What effect do you think the presence of these Chinese laborers has had upon the working classes?**

A I have come to the conclusion that this immigration will, in the course of time, be a very serious thing for this State. I will say now, that if this immigration keeps up, it will affect the country disastrously (p.66-68).

Testimony of Captain R. H. Joy, who had arrived with a boatload of Chinese on April 16, 1876:

Q **When did you arrive in California?**

A Two days ago. I came here in command of the British steamer *Crocus.*

Q **Did you bring any Chinese passengers?**

A Yes, sir; eight hundred and eighty-two.

Q **What is the character of these people?**

A They do not hold a very good character in their own country.

Q **Is this class a desirable one for any country to have?**

A I don't think it is, because of the low moral condition of the people.

Q **Have you been in Australia?**

A I have.

Q **How are the Chinese treated there?**

A Not very well. The inhabitants found that they were being crowded out by the Chinese, and have commenced driving them from the country. Large numbers are leaving.

Q **In the papers you are credited with having said that all the Chinese you brought here were of the very worst classes — the criminal classes.**

A No doubt many of them are very bad. All the Chinese around Canton are very bad.

Q **As an Englishman, what would you think if they were to overrun your country?**

A It would behoove the Englishmen to drive them out.

Q **Why?**

A They work for low wages, and they are not the class of people that we would like to have in our country.

Q **Why is it that they can work for lower wages?**

A They can live cheaper. A handful of rice, with water, will suffice for their meals.

Q **How do their morals compare with those of the English working classes?**

A They are very much lower in every way.

Q **What effect, do you think, the introduction of thirty thousand or forty thousand Chinamen into an English city would have?**

A Their standard is so much lower, I don't think

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they would be allowed in any English city, and I hope never to see that happen (pp.76-77).

Testimony of police officer David Supple:

Q **What proportion of the people belong to the criminal classes—engaged in prostitution, gambling, violating city ordinances, and laws relating to health?**

A About the whole of them.

Q **What is the understanding here in regard to the manner in which these women are held?**

A They are held in bondage, bought and sold. I have had bills of sale translated by Gibson.

Q **Is it possible for these women to escape from that life, even if they desire it?**

A Sometimes the Chief of Police can give some protection, but it is customary for the owners to charge them with crimes in order to get possession of them again. Sometimes they kidnap them, and even unscrupulous white men have been found to assist them.

Q **Do you know what they do with them when they become sick and helpless?**

A They put them out on the street to die. I have had charge of the dead myself, on the street. I have seen sick and helpless women turned out in that way.

Q **What is the general reputation of the Chinese in regard to truth and veracity?**

A I have never yet seen a Chinaman that I would be willing to believe under oath. That is their general reputation. They will testify whichever way their interests may require. That has been my experience, and the experience of everybody with whom I have had any conversation, whether private citizens or officers (pp.80-81).

Testimony of David Louderback, Judge of the San Francisco Police Court:

Q **What do you know about the habits, customs, and social and moral status of the Chinese population in this city?**

A I think they are a very immoral, mean, mendacious, dishonest, thieving people, as a general thing.

Q **What are the difficulties in the way of the administration of justice where they are concerned?**

A As witnesses, their veracity is of the lowest degree. They do not appear to realize the sanctity of an oath, and it is difficult to enforce the laws, where they are concerned, for that reason. They are very apt, in all cases under all circumstances, to resort to perjury and the subornation of perjury. They also use our criminal law to revenge themselves upon their enemies, and malicious prosecutions are frequent.

Q **Do you know anything of the tenure by which Chinese women are held?**

A. In cases I have investigated, parties have been convicted for dealing in this Chinese slavery — buying and selling women for purposes of prostitution. The women probably never realize that they are free agents, but act as though they were slaves.

Q **About what proportion of the Chinese population in this city are habitual law-breakers, violators of the city ordinances, thieves, gamblers, prostitues, and living off the wages of crime?**

"...buying and selling women for purposes of prostitution. The women probably never realize that they are free agents, but act as though they are slaves."

A The proportion is very great (p.93).

Testimony of Wong Ben, a native of China resident in the U.S. for thirteen years, who worked as an interpreter in the Police and County Courts, concerning the trade in Chinese women:

Q **Who are these keepers?**

A Wong Woon, a big fellow, who keeps a house of prostitution. An Geo, another big fellow — every time a woman gets into trouble he gets her out. He goes and collects commission from women and makes them pay so much a month. He gets lawyers for the gamblers, too, and

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collects five dollars a week, and ten dollars a month.

Q **Are these men merchants?**

A No; they keep gambling-houses, and houses of prostitution. They buy women in China, and bring them here to be prostitutes — and they sell them again here (pp.99-100).

Testimony of Dr. H. H. Toland, a member of the San Francisco Board of Health and founder of a medical university, concerning venereal disease in the city:

Q **To what extent do these diseases come from Chinese prostitutes?**

A I suppose nine-tenths. I am satisfied, from my experience, that nearly all the boys in town, who have venereal disease, contracted it in Chinatown. They have no difficulty there, for the prices are so low they can go whenever they please. The women do not care how old the boys are, whether five years old or more, as long as they have money.

Q **Then the maintenance of this population in our midst, instead of advancing civilization, would seem to be a crime against it?**

A That is my opinion.

Q **Have you ever read or heard of any country in the world where there were so many children diseased as there are in San Francisco?**

A No, sir (p.104).

Testimony of H. H. Ellis, Chief of Police of the City and County of San Francisco:

Q **It is in testimony that there are about thirty thousand Chinese living in this city, the most of them residing in seven or eight blocks. Do you know what proportion of that population is criminal, including those who violate the city ordinances in relation to fires and health, and those who live off the wages of the criminal classes, what is the proportion?**

A I think almost the entire population (p.111).

Testimony of Matt Karcher, former Chief of Police in Sacramento, discussing crime and labor displacement:

Q **Do you know who own or claim to own the Chinawomen who are prostitutes here?**

A Merchants here, who pretend to be respectable — Chinese mercants, I mean.

Q **Are they buying and selling these women?**

A That is my opinion, from my experience.

Q **How are they treated?**

A Where one is young and good-looking, and makes plenty of money, she is well treated. Those who are unable to make much are treated very badly.

Q **How young are the youngest that you know of as being held?**

A I have seen them as young as fifteen years.

Q **What chance have they to escape from this life, if they desire?**

A They have very little chance.

Q **Why is that?**

A Because the Chinese will swear to almost anything, and if one is taken away by another, she is simply run off to another locality to be sold into slavery again. Sometimes the farce of marrying is gone through with in order to get the woman, who may be beyond their reach. As soon as the newly-made husband gets possession of his bride he turns her over to her former owners.

"I think this immigration must stop. I say it is not only ruining Americans, but it ruins the Chinese. Their wages, we notice, come down every day."

The Chinese live together, fifteen or twenty in a small room, and do their cooking there and sleep there. This enables them to live upon probably ten cents a day, or seventy cents a week, while a white laborer would be under an expense, at the very least, of twelve dollars a week. The Chinese use Chinese clothing, live upon Chinese rice, and deal with Chinese merchants. The Chinese washerman has taken the place of the white washerwoman. He has usurped the place of the white girl in families. He has driven white laborers from the factories,

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Any Connection to Immigration?

The poverty rate for Latino children has continued to rise, even as it has fallen for other groups, according to a new Census Bureau report.

The poverty rate for Latino children climbed from 40.9 percent in 1993 to 41.5 percent in 1994, the report documents. For whites it declined from 17.8 percent to 16.9 percent and for blacks from 46.1 percent to 43.8 percent.

Another 300,000 Latinos joined poverty rolls in 1994, pushing the total to 8.4 million poor Latinos in the United States.

The National Council of La Raza said factors contributing to the increase include employment discrimination and anti-immigrant sentiment.

The census also reports that **the nation's Latino population rose to 27 million in 1994, up from 22.4 million in 1990.**

— Demetria Martinez
National Catholic Reporter
October 27, 1995

the fields, and the ordinary work of laborers. He has invaded a large portion or our manufacturing institutions, displacing white labor, male and female. He has been enabled to do this from the fact that he works for less than is necessary to support the most economical of white laborers. It is because the laws have been well enforced in California that the people have stood this thing so long as they have. If we should send a population of this kind to any large city in the United States, and the workingmen should understand the character of the Chinese as we understand it, they would rise up and prevent their settling among them (p.128,132-133).

Testimony of Lem Schaum, a long-time Chinese resident of California, who remarked about the impact on wages of continuing high levels of immigration:

Q **Suppose the mass of that immigration was stopped, do you think it would have any influence on our commercial relations with other parts of China?**

A No. I think this immigration must stop. I say it is not only ruining Americans, but it ruins the Chinese. Their wages, we notice, come down every day. A short time ago Chinamen got thirty-six dollars a month working on the railroad. What do they get now? Twenty-six dollars per month — one dollar a day. This immigration must be stopped in some way (p.138).

Testimony of F. L. Gordon, publisher of a Chinese-language newspaper in San Francisco:

Q **What are "hatchet men"?**

A Fighting men; a class of men in Chinatown that can be hired to defend any house or store that is threatened, and will cut and kill indiscriminately (p.148).

Testimony of Lee Kan, a native of Canton who had been working in California since 1852, some of the time as an interpreter for the Bank of California, who noted that wages were declining:

Q **Are the Chinamen coming here able to get employment as fast as they come?**

A No, sir.

Q **Have the wages of Chinamen been reduced very much during the last ten years?**

A Yes, sir (p.150-51).

The report includes appendices with various data. China was estimated to have one-third of the world's population in 1876. The Committee observed:

> This immense population could send out one-quarter of one percent, as colonists to our shores, and then equal in numbers all the white population of the Pacific Coast. Were they sufficiently civilized, well armed, learned, and intelligent, they could spread their rule over the world, and be as dreaded in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as were the hordes of Attilla, Genghis-Khan, and Tamerlane (all from Chinese territory), from the fifth to the fifteenth (p.168). □

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'The Great Commoner' and Immigration

by Robert Kyser

One hundred years ago in June, 1896, William Jennings Bryan, "the boy orator of the Platte," was swept into national prominence as the nominee of the Democratic Party for president. His famous speech, ending with the ringing phrase "you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold," put forward a policy by which the progressives of the Midwest and South could champion the cause of the farmers and laborers of the nation over against the railroad magnates and bankers who were perceived as having a monopolistic hold on their well-being — the financiers of a plutocratic conspiracy against the honest toilers of the nation. The political disillusionment of the agrarian reformers came on the heels of economic disillusionment.

William Jennings Bryan, 1860-1925

The Republican Party raised enormous sums of money for the 1896 campaign and hired an army of speakers to counter Bryan's arguments for the coinage of free silver. On election day, Bryan polled more votes than any candidate had received before — and lost. He went on to be nominated twice more for the presidency, serving as an influential titular head of the Democratic Party during a lengthy stint of "loyal opposition" until Wilson gained the White House in 1912 and named Bryan his Secretary of State.

The populist and progressive roots of Bryan's political philosophy have been disparaged as being "nativist." Historian Paul Glad[1] reminds us that Bryan's political supporters were the farmers and small businessmen of the Midwest and South, that their religion was essentially a moralistic American Protestantism, refined on the frontier, which led them to disparage the Catholic and Jewish faiths of the wave of immigrants arriving in the 1890s.

In a speech in 1896, candidate Bryan said: "Our opponents have sometimes tried to make it appear that we were attacking a race when we denounced the financial policy advocated by the Rothchilds. But we are not; we are as much opposed to the financial policy of J. Pierpont Morgan as we are to the financial policy of the Rothchilds. We are not attacking a race; we are attacking greed and avarice, which know neither race nor religion" (Bryan, *The First Battle*, p.581).

Professor Glad tells us that on the question of unrestricted Oriental immigration, Bryan divided the proponents into two groups: those who believed that "universal brotherhood requires us to welcome to our shores people of all lands"; and those who favored the open door "on the ground that it will furnish cheap labor for household and factory work" (Bryan, in his newsletter, *The Commoner*, December 6, 1901). Certainly he sided with the "toilers" he claimed to represent in the national arena when he indicated that if the immigrant was advantageous for the employer who wanted to cut labor costs, it was the opposite for the American workers driven into the streets (*The Commoner*, March 11, 1901).

Regarding immigration from the Orient, Bryan wrote: "Our own power to help the world by the absorption of surplus population has certain natural and necessary limitations. We have a mission to fulfill and we can not excuse ourselves if we cripple our energies in a mistaken effort to carry a burden heavier than our strength can support" (*The Commoner*, March 30, 1906). □

Robert Kyser is managing editor of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

[1] Citations of Bryan's speeches and writings are by Paul Glad, *The Trumpet Soundeth: William Jennings Bryan and His Democracy, 1896-1912*, University of Nebraska Press, 1960.

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Denis Kearney and the Chinese Exclusion Acts

Semi-slave competition hurts American workers

by Kevin Jenks

During the recent debate over California's Proposition 187, neither side spoke of Denis Kearney, a Californian whose name was once a byword for immigration controversy. Should readers wonder just who Denis Kearney was, they are not alone. There is still no biography of this 19th-century Irish immigrant to the Golden State. Even for those specialists in American immigration history who have touched on his career, Kearney remains more a symbol than a man.

In the late 1870s, however, Denis Kearney and what his ideologically minded foes called "Kearneyism" dominated headlines in California, and made news across the nation. At the head of his Workingmen's Party, Kearney forged California's white laborers into a feared political force for economic and political reform, including exclusion of Chinese "coolie" labor. Within five years of the inception of Kearney's brief public career Congress passed, and President Chester Arthur signed into law, the first measure to restrict Chinese immigration into America.

As the man who epitomized opposition to the Chinese presence, Kearney has been diabolized, both by his contemporaries and subsequent writers, as have few other figures in American history. For James Bryce, the influential British historian and diplomat, Kearney was "...a demagogue of a common type, noisy and confident, but with neither political foresight nor constructive talent." American diplomatic historian Thomas Bailey dismisses Kearney and his heavily Irish followers as comical though bigoted Micks, non-Americans crying "Immericky for Immiricans, bejabers!"

Harvard's Samuel Eliot Morrison writes that Kearney organized riots against the Chinese, while Yen Ching-Hwang, in his *Coolies and Mandarins*, first accuses Kearney and his Workingmen's Party of "[the] most barbaric behavior of burning Chinese buildings and killing the Chinese," then cites a string of incidents, all of which took place *before* Kearney was active and the Workingmen's Party existed.

Frank Roney, a rival of Kearney's for leadership of the Workingmen's Party, claimed not only that Kearney was a mere opportunist, but that his impassioned speeches were ghostwritten by a newspaperman. Gertrude Atherton, a San Francisco society lady who once met Kearney, derided him as an empty blusterer who was "...merely talk, talk, talk," then hints that he was bribed into retiring from politics in the 1880s.

Even those sympathetic to Chinese exclusion have often been less than favorable to Kearney. The antics of Kearney and the Workingmen's Party caused President Hayes to veto the Fifteen-Passenger Bill (in 1879), the contemporary Democrats charged; later historians, such as E.C. Sandmeyer (in his standard study, "The Anti-Chinese Movement in California") and S.B. Miller, claim the importance of the role of Kearney's party in securing Chinese exclusion has been much exaggerated.

Veiled in century-old obscurity, strait-jacketed in academic and political animus, who was Denis Kearney? What, if anything, did Kearney accomplish, and what significance does he hold for today's immigration reformer? To answer these questions, it is necessary first to look at the Chinese who were streaming to America, the Americans who welcomed them, and those Americans, native and immigrant, who raised the cry for Chinese exclusion.

First Entry of the Chinese

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The Chinese who came to America, beginning in 1849, little mirrored the China dear to American and European sentimentalists of the day. They numbered few Confucian philosophers, converts to Christianity, or delicate porcelain beauties: almost all were male peasants and laborers from Canton and other provinces of south China. Despite vigorous denials by their importers, these "Chinamen" were seen by most California whites, with some justice, as "coolies." Although many today think of the term as a racial slur, Random House Webster's Dictionary explains that a coolie is "a laborer hired at subsistence wages for unskilled work." Indeed, most of the Chinese immigrants were indentured laborers who had been inveigled or impressed into decade or longer contracts by unscrupulous Chinese entrepreneurs, the notorious "companies." Indentured or contracted, free or unfree, the Chinese immigrants were formidable economic rivals: they worked hard, they worked cheap, and they gave no labor problems — the Chinese "companies" which ruled the immigrants with an iron hand saw to that.

"Indentured or contracted, free or unfree, the Chinese immigrants were formidable economic rivals..."

Within a couple of years, there were over twenty thousand Chinese in California, a number which quadrupled in two decades. Their presence quickly grated on the rough-and-ready white immigrants who had swarmed to the state from the East Coast and Europe. Soon there were outrages in the mining camps and tumults in the towns, as the Forty-Niners found unfree labor competition, from black slaves or the Chinese, intolerable.

Aside from the economic threat the Chinese posed to white laborers, the Forty-Niners complained of the vices and failings of the Chinese community such as endemic gambling, opium smoking, dirt and disease, and brothels which stocked Chinese prostitutes, often underage girls sold and held in virtual slavery. These vices, in their general forms, were not unknown to the miners, but their specific manifestations stirred genuine disgust.

Opponents of Restriction

In the quarter century between 1850 and 1877, white Californians made many political attempts, on the local, state, and national level, to stem the influx of Chinese. All of them failed in the face of opposition from entrenched business interests — especially the railroads, banks, and steamship lines — and reinforced by a vociferous strain of "liberalism" led by ex-abolitionists and egalitarians, churchmen, and "reformers" of various stripes. Then as now, the pro-immigration forces were well situated to influence public opinion from prestigious pulpits, editorships and professorial chairs. The high-minded posturing of advocates of unlimited coolie immigration frequently veiled a considerable animus against the "bigoted" foes of immigration, often immigrants themselves: the staunch Yankee defenders of the Chinese were as capable of stigmatizing the Irish, German and other European immi-grants, as they were at minimizing the vices and privations that flourished among the Chinese laborers and brothel slaves in San Francisco and elsewhere along the West Coast.

Then, too, there was the opposition of the courts which relied on the common law, generally tolerant of immigration, and the Constitution, which protected the Chinese despite their ineligibility to be naturalized — a situation which few supporters of the Chinese immigration, except for such radical egalitarians as Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner, wished to change.

The ratification of the Burlingame Treaty in 1868, which conferred most-favored-nation status on Chinese immigrants, marked the high point of their legal status in nineteenth-century America. In the next year tens of thousands of them were moved into the Sierra to dig, drill and blast a path eastward for the Central Pacific.

Meanwhile, interested entrepreneurs east of the Mississippi were looking into the possibilities that a cheap and reliable labor force afforded. Attempts were underway to use Chinese to replace the freed slaves of the American South; more ominously, in 1870 Chinese workers were brought in to break strikes in North Adams, Massachusetts and Belleville, New Jersey.

Around that time Irishman Denis Kearney immigrated to California. Born on February 1, 1847 in Oakmount, Cork at the depth of the "Great

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Hunger," young Denis had gone to sea at eleven, rising to the rank of first officer on American-flag steamers. Settling in San Francisco in 1868, he married an Irishwoman, Mary Ann Leary, started a family, bought a draying business, and became a citizen and taxpayer.

Post-Civil War Economic Crisis

In 1873 a nation-wide economic slump brought renewed interest in the Chinese, little of it benign. Thanks to incidents like those in Belleville and North Adams, the Chinese question became a national issue, and in 1874 President Grant called for restricting Chinese immigration.

The twin blows of drought and depression struck California in 1876-1877, wiping out the savings of countless employees and small businessmen, and sending rents on farms owned by the big railroad companies soaring. For laboring men, wage cuts and layoffs now joined the competition of the Chinese as grounds for anxiety — or outrage.

"Kearney was already well known to San Francisco working men through his frequent lectures at a local workers' lyceum."

In July 1877, workers in the East struck several railroads, including the Penn Central. These strikes resulted in an economic violence unprecedented in America, nowhere worse than in Pittsburgh, where on July 21 pro-management militia mowed down dozens of strikers with Gatling gun fire, after which infuriated workers sacked and burned railroad property.

Two days later, a sympathy rally in San Francisco erupted in violence as a mob stormed the docks of the steamship lines that transported the Chinese, then rampaged through Chinatown. Several of the rioters were shot dead on the docks, and order was quickly restored by William T. Coleman's Committee of Safety, 7,000 men strong, and a contingent of U.S. troops from the naval base at Mare Island.

Trapped in the vise of monopoly capital and coolie labor, outgunned by the forces of law and order, and betrayed by professedly anti-Chinese politicians who never seemed to deliver, California's hard-pressed white workers appeared defeated.

Enter Denis Kearney

At this moment of crisis Denis Kearney stepped out to take the lead. Using the workers' clubs of the San Francisco Bay area as a base, within two months Kearney and several lieutenants had organized and proclaimed the Workingmen's Party of California (early October, 1877). Kearney was named the party's president, chief promoter, and director of *The Open Letter*, the party organ.

Despite his youth and political inexperience, Kearney was already well known to San Francisco working men through his frequent lectures at a local workers' lyceum; earlier in 1877, he had been deputized to present the grievances of the Draymen and Teamsters' Union to California's Senator Sargent.

Though lacking a formal education, Kearney had read Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer and had a broad knowledge of history and current events. At first a clumsy speaker, he had turned himself into something of a local Demosthenes at the People's Meeting for Discussion (where he had come to know Henry George, the brilliant reformer and author of *Progress and Poverty*, who would later stand for election on the WPC ticket).

The program proclaimed by the Workingmen's Party of California appeared intolerably socialistic to the capitalists and conservatives of the Gilded Age, but its planks were well in line with those of subsequent populistmovements: to unite labor and small business owners against big capital; to break the monopoly power of banks and railroads over what had been public land; and to outlaw unfair competition from imported, unfree, alien labor. As a Workingmen's Party resolution thundered: "The Chinese laborer is a curse to our land, is degrading to our morals, is a menace to our lives, and should be restricted and forever abolished, and 'the Chinese must go.'"

The strategy behind the WPC was no less important than its program. Kearney and his aides knew full well that appeals for insurrection, no less than actual riotousness and bloodshed, would result in the movement's suppression by the superior power of the government and the monopolists. Yet mere

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anti-Chinese oratorical pyrotechnics wouldn't be enough to fire the enthusiasm of potential voters: these they had heard again and again, of late even from the establishment politicians.

"The struggle of Kearney and his party to loosen the stranglehold of the railway and banking concerns on California's economy foundered, however, on the practiced, determined opposition of the stand-patters who ruled both major parties."

By all the evidence, Kearney decided on a daring course. In his *Open Letter,* and before the crowds, Kearney would call for no violence, would warn against violence — but would then roar that without reform, of the Chinese problem above all, violence was inevitable.

The electioneering and speechifying undertaken by Kearney and the WPC in the fall of 1877 make today's carefully staged "events," "opportunities," and "sound bites" seem drab. With a vigor notable even in light of electoral practice in his era, Kearney whipped up a whirlwind of mass meetings, torchlight parades, and propaganda salvoes which scorched California's economic and political establishment, above all for their importation of the Chinese.

Kearney's speeches were the mainstay of the WPC's campaigning. They abounded in the rabid anti-Chinese invective of the day ("leprous, rat-eating Chinese slaves" is one phrase cited), and each speech by Denis Kearney ended with his Catonian "signature" line, "The Chinese must go!" In fact, the unsupported allegations of careless writers to the contrary, practically no violence resulted from the activities of the WPC, despite the thousands of far-from-meek dock workers, ex-miners, and the like that swarmed to its rallies.

Soon enough, the law, as interpreted and enforced in 1877 San Francisco and California, was leveled at Kearney and his Workingmen. In early November, a few days after a WPC demonstration just outside the ornate Nob Hill mansion of George Crocker, Kearney and several of his lieutenants were arrested on charges of incitement to riot. After Kearney spent three weeks in jail, the charges were dropped. (Crocker was the steamship and Central Pacific magnate who had, after a rare strike, overseen his Chinese work force with whip and revolver in 1869.)

There was more than one way to skin the cat of Kearneyism, perhaps. In January, 1878 San Francisco's mayor, Andrew Bryant, issued a decree against public meetings; two days later the state legislature banned "incendiary" speech before gatherings of more than 25 men, indoors or outdoors, the so-called "Gag Law." These measures, which resulted in further arrests, but not convictions, of Kearney and his men, served only to increase sympathy for their party. Workingmen's candidates began winning elections for state and local offices in Santa Clara, Oakland, Sacramento and elsewhere in northern California. (It should be remembered that in the 1870s Los Angeles and its suburbs were little more than dusty frontier towns). In June of 1878, its high-water mark, the WP elected over one third of the delegates to a convention called to rewrite California's state constitution, giving the Kearneyites potentially great influence in reforming California's railroad and banking practices and its inequitable tax laws, as well as providing a strong platform from which to agitate for national reform of Chinese immigration.

The struggle of Kearney and his party to loosen the stranglehold of the railway and banking concerns on California's economy foundered, however, on the practiced, determined opposition of the stand-patters who ruled both major parties. While the WPC, in alliance with delegates from the National Grange and even some Democrats and Republicans, did get a number of its planks, including a ban on the employment of Chinese labor, written into the constitution, most of these (including the anti-Chinese Article 19) were either overturned by the courts or disabled by the legislature. By 1880, buffeted from without, beset by internal rifts between skilled and unskilled workers, laborers

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and shopkeepers, the Workingmen's Party had ceased to be a factor in California politics.

Continued Demands for Chinese Exclusion

The brief rise and rapid fall of the Workingmen's Party didn't, however, mark the defeat of the movement to stop the mass importation of Chinese coolies to compete with American working men. The WPC's agitation in California had helped awaken American workers nationwide to the problems that Chinese immigration posed, as well as awaken American politicians to the potential of an anti-Chinese, working-class voting bloc. Kearney himself crossed the country to build support for Chinese exclusion, meeting with allies such as Samuel Gompers, founder of the American Federation of Labor, and Massachusetts's opportunistic governor, Ben Butler.

After President Hayes vetoed (in 1879) a bill to limit the number of Chinese laborer immigrants landing on any one ship to fifteen, growing political pressure led to the negotiation, in the next year, of a new treaty to withdraw China's most-favored-nation status in immigration. In 1881 President Arthur vetoed a bill which would have effectively banned the immigration of Chinese laborers for twenty years; the next year, he signed into law a measure which provided for a ten-year suspension. Students, teachers, and tourists continued to be welcome, but these and subsequent measures passed over the next quarter century effectively slowed the flood of Chinese immigration to the merest trickle until the passage of the 1965 law initiated a massive new Chinese immigration.

An Assessment

How important were Kearney and the party he founded and led in achieving Chinese exclusion? To be sure, Kearney and "Kearneyism," as the anti-Chinese movement was dubbed, served as a convenient bugbear in mobilizing "refined" sentiment against any measures to control the Asiatic immigration: it was a point of pride for advocates of unrestricted immigration that "the solid classes," as Viscount Bryce called them, were decidedly against Kearney. And it was perhaps true, as Democrats in California charged, that the "Kearney" incubus had helped defeat the Fifteen-Passenger Bill, but Kearney and his party were against it anyway: if denied the expulsion for which they clamored publicly, they would still settle only for total exclusion.

Other scholars have been more positive. While rejecting blanket claims (or denunciations!) that the Kearney movement alone achieved or catalyzed Chinese exclusion, historian Ira B. Cross wrote that the WPC "...forced the Chinese question into the foreground and compelled the Federal government to abrogate the Burlingame Treaty." And Claude G. Bowers stated of Kearney: "He put the fear of the toiler into the heart of the politicians." Even more telling, perhaps, is pro-Chinese historian Mary Roberts Coolidge's negative estimation of what the heavily Irish (and to a

EDITOR'S NOTE:

In *The Case Against Immigration* (Norton, 1996), author Roy Beck notes that although the popular pressure to exclude Chinese indentured labor "included ugly racial overtones," it was not primarily about race. During the same period, Americans also were calling for an end to indentured contract labor from white Europe. They achieved their first success with the famous Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Far less known is that worker agitation continued until 1885 when the Alien Contract Law halted the practice of industrialists importing European workers who were legally bound to work in indentured servitude. The industrialists had been using Chinese and European immigrants to fight American workers' push for an eight-hour workday and other improvements in working conditions.

Beck writes: "Sounding remarkably like the pro-immigration forces of the 1990s, the industrialists of that time justified their actions on the basis of protecting an unfettered free-market system. They condemned labor organizing and strikes for better working conditions as violation of the 'eternal laws of political economy,' according to the historian Eric Foner."

(See an advertisement for Beck's book inside the back cover of this journal.)

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lesser extent, German) immigrant movement Kearney had led achieved: "The clamor of an alien class in a single state — taken up by politicians for their own ends — was sufficient to change the policy of a nation and to commit the United States to a race discrimination at variance with our own professed theories of government, and so irrevocably that it has become an established tradition."

Coolidge's stern judgment, published in 1909, signals one potential significance of Denis Kearney and his movement. The fissure she created between Irish and Continental immigrants on the one hand and Gilded Age robber barons, New England reformers and imported Chinese laborers on the other, calls into question the glib (and sometimes calculating) division between bigoted "nativists" and tolerant immigrants: troubling though it may be to the "wretched refuse" set, it is nonetheless fact that while the hard-headed Yankees, including former Know-Nothings, vigorously defended the Chinese, immigrants hardly off the boat from Cork or Bremen demanded: "America for the Americans."

Yesterday and Today

The battle over Chinese exclusion of the 1870s and 1880s affords broader comparisons to trends in today's America. The 19th century anti-Chinese coalition which grew to include Southern politicians as well as many Southern immigrants to California, foreshadows the "emerging Republican majority" (really an alliance of Southern whites and northern "ethnics," many of them Irish or otherwise Catholic) championed by Nixon advisor Kevin Phillips, which has sustained the Republican Party from the 1960's to the present. Too, recent history's "East Coast Establishment," together with today's "politically correct," "multicultural" knowledge and entertainment complex, may profitably be analyzed as a successor to the coalition of capitalists, preachers, reformers and egalitarians who agitated on behalf of the "underclass" (and the ruling class) of a century ago.

In addition to touching on Kearney's achievements and his significance, we need to re-establish what Denis Kearney was not: he was not a murderer, nor an inciter to violence; not an unlettered ignoramus, nor a penniless enemy of private property; far from untalented; and, in the absence of any convincing evidence to the contrary, neither venal nor an opportunist.

Absent the biography that cries out to be written, the details of Denis Kearney's later years, like those of his youth, are sketchy. About 1882, his personal fortunes badly drained by neglect of his private affairs and by the various legal ordeals he had suffered, Kearney, who had never run for or held public office, retired from public life to support his family, eventually starting a successful employment agency. He died in Alameda in 1907.

Perhaps the last word on what he stood for should be Kearney's. After the appearance of Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, Kearney, nettled by the British scholar's contemptuous dismissal of the Workingmen in favor of the "solid classes," wrote: "I don't quite understand what you mean by the 'solid classes.' The money-lenders, land monopolists, and those who were growing rich by importing and employing Chinese laborers were against me, and did all in their power to kill both the movement and myself... My only crime seems to have been that I opposed the Mongolization of my state in the interest of our own people and their civilization."

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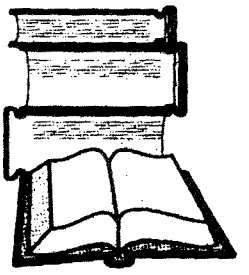

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Labor-led Immigration Restriction

Book review
by Wayne Lutton

The context within which popular demands for the restriction of Asian immigration were made in the last century is little understood by contemporary Americans. Too often dismissed simply as outbreaks of "nativism" or "racism," a more careful consideration of this chapter of our history reveals that it was free labor who led the campaign to end large-scale Chinese (and later Japanese) immigration. In time, organized labor, in the person of Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, came to endorse a sharp restriction of immigration from European sources as well.

Alexander Saxton is one of the first historians to reexamine these events. The UCLA professor conducted original research among primary documents housed at the California State Library at Sacramento, the California Historical Society in San Francisco, as well as the libraries of San Francisco, UC-Berkeley and UCLA. His book, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California,* was published a quarter-century ago and has only now been reprinted by the University of California Press. For the reader wishing to learn why Asian immigration was curtailed in the late 19th century, this is a good place to begin your inquiry.

Migrating from the East to the West coast, especially after the end of our Civil War, many Americans and recently-arrived immigrants, found themselves competing for work in the mines, on the railroads, in construction and industry, against Chinese workers who were paid anywhere from one-quarter to one-twelfth of what had been the prevailing wage. West Coast businessmen contracted with Chinese labor bosses to provide set numbers of workers, who were then shipped over to the United States on steam ships often as not owned by their future U.S. employers. Once ashore in California, the newly-arrived Chinese workers came under the control of what were known as The Six Companies–Chinese syndicates that controlled the Chinese workers and their communities. Wages were paid to the Companies, and no Chinaman could return home without the express permission of the Company to which he was enrolled.

Although the Chinese in America worked for a fraction of what free labor demanded, there was no shortage of takers in a China that even then was overpopulated and suffered from periodic famines and chronic political instability. The goal of the "coolies" was to earn what they could in America and then take their savings back to China.

American capitalists welcomed the steady supply of cheap foreign labor. They argued, as does Microsoft chairman Bill Gates today, that their businesses would fail or be forced to move overseas if they were not permitted to import Chinese workers.

Saxton estimates that by the early 1870s, Chinese constituted at least a quarter of the labor force in California, playing a prominent role in agriculture, heavy construction, and manufacturing. As the author remarks in his Introduction, "clearly, the importation of indentured workers from an area of relatively depressed living standards constituted a menace to a society developing, at least after 1865, on the basis of free wage labor."

The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California
By Alexander Saxton
Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971; paper reprint, 1996
303 pages, $21.00, ISBN: 0-520-02905-4

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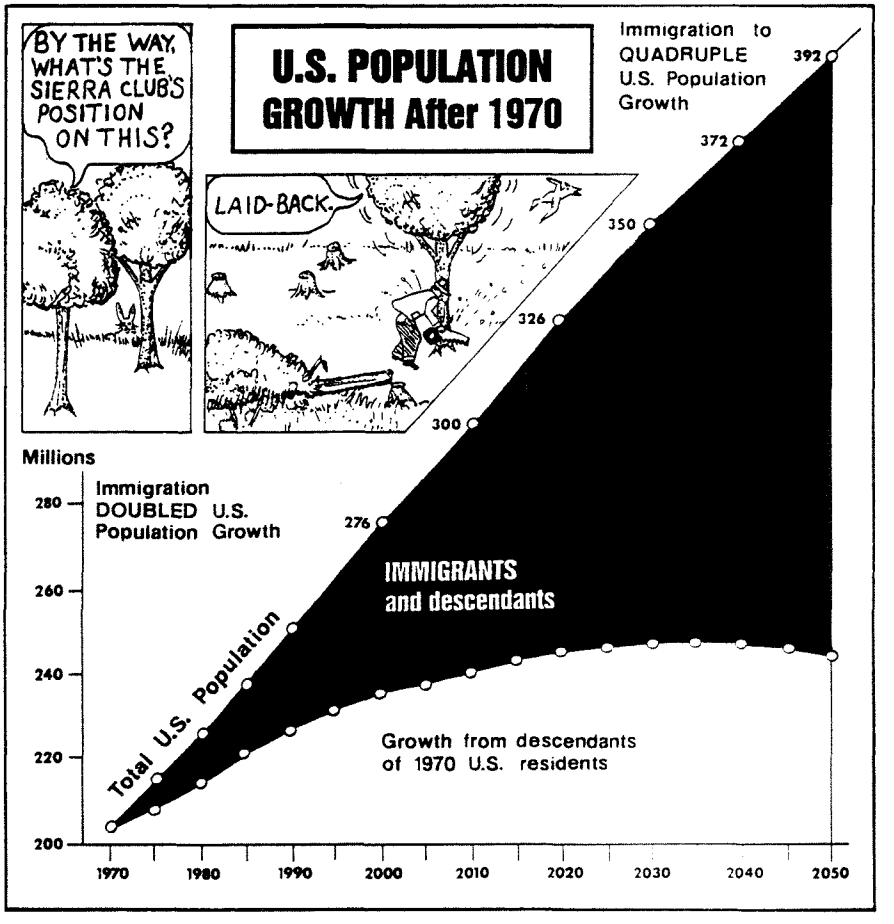
Workingmen and their families came to recognize that they were caught in an economic vice. "The main carriers of the movement" to restrict further Chinese immigration, the author explains,"were those who came in competition with Chinese or feared possible exposure to such competition. These fears, based on the low living standard of imported Cantonese laborers and on the contract system of their importation, were by no means imaginary. A more or less free labor force was being pressed into competition with indentured labor. On the other hand, the main defenders of Chinese importation were to be found among those who benefitted from the employment of contract gang labor."

And who most benefitted from the indentured labor from Asia? "It is scarcely surprising," Professor Saxton observes, "that California's new Republican elite should largely have coincided with the users of Chinese labor. Defense of the Chinese on economic grounds (though certainly the Republicans mounted such a defense) held the disadvantage of exposing their own interest. And here it was not so much a matter of concealment, for they believed their interest legitimate; it was rather than of seeking some higher ground than private profit."

Saxton goes on to relate how the special business interests launched a public relations campaign somewhat ironically patterned after the anti-slavery crusade of the Abolitionists. Far from admitting that they wanted to use cheap foreign labor as a sledge hammer to drive down the wages of free working men and women, they instead invoked the Declaration of Independence and the Bible, asserting it was anti-American and anti-Christian to place any limits on immigration.

In his concluding chapter, the author recounts how, by the late 19th Century, organized labor came to see unrestricted immigration– from whatever source–as a threat to the living standards of people already here. As early as 1889, unionists in Boston called for a fifteen year moratorium on all immigration. Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor challenged other union leaders to have the courage to do what was in labor's best interest: lobby for federal legislation to end large-scale immigration.

The Indispensable Enemy makes for fascinating reading. What we learn here is that demands for immigration restriction came from the grass roots after American workers learned that mass immigration had severe negative wage effects, which remains true today. This Spring witnessed what amounted to a replay in the on-going campaign to restrict immigration, with big business uniting with particular ethnic, religious, and legal interests to abort efforts to enact limits on legal immigration. The battle first joined by workers on the West Coast in the 1860s continues. □



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Jobs Americans Used to Do

Foreign workers in the meatpacking industry

by Roy Beck

Steam rises from the big hog slaughterhouse of Storm Lake, Iowa. The plume catches the gaze of American-born workers watching traffic from a nearby gas station. "This was a completely different town in 1980," says Ted Kramer from the middle of the group gathered around a cowhide work glove display.

The cars passing by are filled with Laotians, Mexicans, Thais, Vietnamese, Somalians and Central Americans. Like kill plants across the country, the one here relies on immigrant labor.

The tasks of disassembling America's hogs, sheep and cattle are nasty, tedious and risky. They look like jobs most Americans would rather not do.

In damp conditions surrounded by animal offal, meatcutters often stand in a single place, making the same cuts all day long, trying to keep up with the fast-moving line while not being struck by the lifeless livestock or slashed by knives, their own or their co-workers'. "Workers have little time for idle conversation or even work-related discussion, as carcasses whiz by at 400 or more an hour," explains Donald D. Stull, a University of Kansas anthropologist and noted expert on the industry. In a recent year, more than 126,000 people nationwide labored the red-meat slaughter industry at relatively low wages. Stull says the rapid, continuous repetitive tasks frequently lead to hand, arm and wrist disorders, the most common being carpal tunnel syndrome. Anthropologist David Griffith of East Carolina University says workers report that they feel like "old used up pieces of machinery after occupational injuries: 'used up and tossed out the door.'"

A common claim by immigration enthusiasts is that "immigrants just do jobs that Americans won't do." Although that often isn't true at all, there are some occupations that now are dominated by foreign workers and which few Americans would want to enter. This case study explains how such jobs got that way.

For a worker, meat-packing is the most dangerous industry in America.

The foreign workers sacrificing their own bodies as they carve up those of large animals are prime examples of what immigration advocates mean when they say the U.S. economy depends on the importation of workers to "do jobs Americans won't do."

What galls the natives gathered this morning in the Mid-Town Service station in Storm Lake, however, is that the immigrants at the slaughterhouse are doing jobs these Americans once *did*. Every Iowa man in this station used to work at the hog plant. Every nasty part of the killing and butchering process throughout this country was done by a native-born American, not that many years ago. And Americans prized having those jobs.

Before the immigrants started coming 15 years ago, "the local people lined up to get jobs in that plant," growls Richard Krout from behind the gas station's cash register. Referring to the meatpacker corporations, he adds, "But now the bastards won't pay up." A group of scholars writing for the Aspen

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Roy Beck is the author of The Case Against Immigration: The moral, economic, social, and environmental reasons for reducing immigration back to traditional levels, *released by W. W. Norton & Company this spring. (See ad inside the back cover.) This article is a conden-sation of one of the book's chapters. Footnotes for all information in this article are available in the book.*

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Institute Quarterly said the meatpacking industry has "broken unions, initiated internal and international labor migrations, taken advantage of ethnic, gender, regional and legal-status differences among workers and revitalized methods of labor mobilization and labor control resembling peonage and servitude."

With the cushion of an unending stream of fresh immigrants, the meatpacking industry slashed the pay, sped up the lines and allowed safety conditions to deteriorate back toward the level described by Upton Sinclair in his book, *The Jungle*. Surveying the workplace of today, Professor Stull says conditions are alarmingly similar to the ones described in the 1906 book that shocked the nation.

How Did Things Get This Way?

Every time somebody points to a job and declares that it depends on immigration because it is beneath an American to take, it is important to ask how it became so unattractive. Until Congress began flooding the United States with immigrants in 1965, all jobs were filled overwhelmingly, and often almost exclusively, with native-born American workers. In the United States, there were no "jobs Americans won't do."

Many observers — including some highly educated ones — have made the mistake of looking at foreign workers performing lower-skilled tasks today and assuming that, if not for them, there would be no one to do the jobs. Their thinking reveals a misunderstanding of three key aspects of the labor market and immigration:

(1) Shutting off immigration would not mean that recent immigrants would leave their jobs.

(2) In many cases, so-called "immigrant occupations" already have Americans working alongside foreigners. There are plenty of unemployed Americans who might take those jobs if they began opening up after a halt in immigration, especially if the workplace culture once again became American and English-speaking.

(3) For other "immigrant jobs," there may not be a sufficient number of Americans who would take them as they now exist because the pay and working conditions are so deplorable — the meatpacking industry being a notable example. The presence of immigrants keeps those wages and conditions from improving to the point where Americans would take the jobs. Without the availability of new immigrants, though, employers would have to make innovations and improvements in their employment, and in doing so, most would find enough Americans to keep their business running.

"You hear the myth so much that immigrant farmworkers take jobs Americans won't do, that Americans won't clean the streets, clean the rooms, wash the dishes," says economist Marshall Barry of the Labor Research Center of Boston and Miami. "But that isn't true. If you pay right, Americans will do everything."

In fact, if you travel inland and away from immigration centers, you will find that native-born Americans are making the beds, washing the dishes, busing the tables, doing the gardening, running the fast-food and all-night grocery operations and filling any number of jobs that appear to attract only immigrants in many coastal cities. You also often find that those jobs pay more in the non-immigrant markets even though the cost of living is lower, thanks to the wonders of tight labor markets.

Denying businesses their stream of cheap new foreign labor would jolt many businesses out of a counter-productive complacency about worker productivity, and market forces would drive today's so-called "immigrant jobs" to improve back to being "jobs Americans *will* do."

Looking Back On Better Times

"The most amazing thing about current immigration policy," comments Peter Brimelow, senior editor at *Forbes* magazine, is that "it serves no economic purpose. It does nothing for Americans they could not do for themselves."

Importation of hundreds of thousands of foreign workers each year is worse than unnecessary: It ruins good occupations; it rewards callous business management; it penalizes businesses with a strong sense of corporate citizenship, and it creates sweeping changes for communities that never request them and seldom approve of them. At the most basic level, it changes the lives, the aspirations and the very identity of many individual Americans.

Perhaps no industry reveals that sad spectacle any more dramatically than the meatpacking industry of the last three decades."

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When Ted Kramer moved to Storm Lake, Iowa, in 1959, he figured out quickly that the top-ststus work in town was at the hog plant. "After awhile, I went to the plant every morning to try to get on. When I did, I never had seen such paychecks in my life! Things really looked up for us. We had guys with a college education who worked there because the pay was so good." From the 1950s until everything changed in the early 1980s, people held onto their slaughterhouse jobs like gold. And they pulled strings to get their relatives and children into the jobs. Because nearly all packing companies offered handsome pay and benefits, no company had trouble remaining profitable while treating its workers well.

"Because nearly all packing companies offered handsome pay and benefits, no company had any trouble remaining profitable while treating its workers well."

Today, jobs are so deteriorated that it is difficult to keep workers — either native-born Americans or immigrants. Stress-related disorders and injuries drive many workers off the jobs within months. The companies expect it. They have designed their plants for high turnover and may even encourage it, according to the Aspen Institute Quarterly.

A recent turnover rate in the packing plants of southwest Kansas, for example, was between 6 and 8 percent every **month.** That annual rate of 72-96 percent a year was considered low in the industry.

Driving a lot of the turnover is an incredible rate of injuries. Meatcutters are injured 400 percent more often than workers in the average U.S. industry. The annual injury and illness rate is an incredible 44.4 people out of every 100 full-time workers.

The current injuries and the worker-turnover astound the former meatcutters gathered at Mid-Town Service. As they talk of bright futures that never came and of a present that "isn't what it used to be," they bear witness to the unrelenting power of mass immigration. They say they never saw unsafe working conditions as they exist today. Some scoff at the injury rate, suggesting that it proves the foreigners aren't any good at their jobs. "They don't know how to use a knife," one says. But another interjects, "The company doesn't train them right, not like we were trained."

"I worked there for 34 years," says Joe Kennedy, a grizzled retired man who has just entered the station. "I remember two guys the whole time with carpal tunnel."

"Sometimes you'd see a strained back," says Kermit Hendricks, who now drives a truck.

"I don't think they care if they run through those immigrants," Mark Young says. All agree that their strong meatcutters union in the past made certain that working conditions stayed safe and that everybody was trained properly. "You have to keep your knife sharpened right. Nothing is harder on an arm than a dull knife," Young says.

"It took awhile, but once I got the knack of keeping the knife sharp, the job wasn't nothing to it," Hendricks agrees.

"In 30 years, I never found the knack," Richard Krout mumbles as he leaves the cash register for the storage room. Ted Kramer turns toward Krout's disappearing figure and says admiringly, "Don't let him fool you. There goes one of the best knives there was."

Mark Young is getting nostalgic. "I miss most of the people there. You could leave your tools and knife lying around and never lost any. You never locked a vehicle in the company parking lot. Now they can't do any of that."

Kramer stares back toward the hog plant: "There wasn't a better production crew in the United States than what we had."

Like veterans of ancient wars, the former meatcutters speak of camaraderie and pride now bathed in a valiant glow. Their own knives long ago sheathed, they recall their prowess at sharpening and wielding their tools of battle. They speak of lives that might have been if they had not been run out of their jobs and about the town that once was and is no more.

When anthropologist Stull says nothing much has changed between Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* and the slaughterhouses of today, he doesn't mean

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that nothing changed in between. In fact for decades, the meatcutters across America worked and lived great middle-class American lives. The jobs didn't maim them. And the pay allowed workers to buy houses and cars, to take vacations, to raise families and to retire on a decent pension.

"Such a significant cut in wages for hundreds of jobs works its way through all parts of a town's economy. ...Downtown merchants saw a significant change..."

"What was nice was that the head of the household worked and the other half could stay at home and take care of the kids," one man says.

But all of that in Storm Lake came crashing to an end in 1981 when changes in the industry resulted in some 500 of these Iowa men losing their jobs and only a fraction of them being hired back later at half-wages to work with immigrants. A lot of the old meatcutters spent years after that just doing pick-up jobs by the day, says Mark Young who has farmed with his father-in-law ever since. "I never have made as much money as at the plant." The consensus of the men here is that very few of the native workers ever again matched their earnings. The town's population size remained fairly stable as natives left in about the same numbers as the foreign workers entered.

Such a significant cut in wages for hundreds of jobs works its way through all parts of a town's economy. Downtown merchants saw a significant change in spending patterns and, through the years, in the whole culture of commerce.

Unsurprisingly, the foreign workers in Storm Lake encounter a lot of bitterness among some of the natives. Mark Young, though, appeals for understanding, suggesting that the immigrants are just looking for work like everybody else. The culprits, he says, are the state and federal government leaders who make decisions based on what is best for big business: "This immigration is damned good for big business. There's nothing better than cheap foreign workers."

Recruiting Foreign Workers in the 1890s

Immigration has a long history of turning jobs into — or keeping them as — ones nobody but a desperate foreign worker would be willing to accept.

Consider Kansas City a century ago. Laborers in the sprawling slaughterhouses had organized to force improvements. The laborforce was filled with freed slaves and Americans of English, Irish, German and Swedish backgrounds. As again is true in the 1990s, the work was dangerous; a consumer often got a shoulder roast at the expense of permanent damage to the shoulder of a poorly-paid laborer who butchered it. When the packinghouses balked at demands for reform in 1893, the workers went out on strike.

Because of the mostly-open immigration policies of the time, Kansas City industries didn't have to pay any attention to their workers. During a time when Booker T. Washington was eloquently pleading with industry personnel managers to "cast down their bucket" where they were, the meatpackers were sending recruiters to Europe — especially the Balkans — to find strikebreakers. New waves of Croatians, Serbs, Dalmatians, Slovenians, Herzegovinians and Bosnians poured into the "West Bottoms" area of Kansas City and crushed the strike.

American workers were driven out of the industry.

Upton Sinclair noted that in order to maintain horrible working conditions, the industry continuously brought in more foreign workers — thanks to President Cleveland's veto of immigration restriction legislation in 1897. In Kansas City, the flows came from Poland, Greece, Russia, Italy, Japan and Mexico, as well as from families in the Balkans.

It was nearly impossible to organize labor in those conditions. By vetoing new restrictionist legislation, Presidents Taft and Wilson would ensure that immigration continued to keep conditions so bad that packinghouse work remained a job most Americans wouldn't do until after 1924.

Over the next few decades, however, the meatpacking industry would prove that the domi-

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nance of immigrants in a job category at any given time does not mean that Americans won't take the jobs in the future.

During the Immigration Lull

Meatcutters began to live a little higher on the hog after Congress sliced annual immigration numbers in the 1920s. Without a virtually unlimited supply of foreign labor with which to intimidate their workers, the packing companies slowly were forced to offer decent working conditions and pay. And with a heavy dose of ingenuity, the companies found it possible to do so and remain profitable.

"...conditions in the 1940s made it possible for Americans to eat their steak and pork chops without any guilt that their good diet depended on worker exploitation."

Labor organizing moved swiftly, and improvements were made even during the Depression in the 1930s. "I started at the plant in 1935," says Marvin Goldsmith of Storm Lake. "It was before the humane killing; I stuck pigs while they were still squealing. The union came in June 1937. I was drawing 47 ½ cents an hour. It went up to 75 cents just like that."

The struggle was hard and sometimes violent. But the low-immigration, tight-labor, booming-economy conditions of the 1940s made it possible for Americans to eat their steak and pork chops without any guilt that their good diet depended on worker exploitation. The unions gained a hold on nearly the entire meatpacking industry, guaranteeing one of the best wage and benefits packages of any industry.

"I worked 40 years," Goldsmith says. "The industry was good to me. I cut two-thirds of a finger off once and fell and broke a wrist, that's all. For years, I had six weeks of vacation each year. But we put in lots of hard hours. I honestly can say I didn't take home a nickel that I didn't earn."

As the country entered the 1960s, the meatpacking industry was providing solid middle-class wages and a boost to the middle-class economy of scores of communities, notably Philadelphia, St. Louis, Memphis, Omaha, Sioux City, Kansas City, Wichita, Fort Worth and Los Angeles.

Kay Larson, a librarian in Spencer, Iowa, remembers that when she was a girl, "we always looked at the kids with parents in the packing plant as the rich kids."

A chain of national events that began in the 1960s would ensure that by the 1990s nobody would look with envy at anybody working in a meatpacking plant.

Strategies to Lower Wages

In 1960, the year John F. Kennedy was elected president, the IBP meatpacking company was founded. Originally called Iowa Beef Processors, it turned the industry upside down with its innovations and eventually acquired nearly one-third of the national red-meat slaughter market.

It and other new firms that later followed its tactics sought ways to take the market from the old established packers of Armour, Swift, Wilson and Cudahy. The new packers slashed their costs and simplified the process by shipping boxed beef instead of hanging carcasses, eliminating highly paid butchers in the middle. They built new, more-efficient plants, locating more of them near the rural areas where livestock raising was concentrated. The old companies had to follow suit to compete. In the process, tens of thousands of jobs eventually were eliminated.

All of that was in line with the workings of a free, capitalist market system in which entrepreneurs constantly search for cheaper methods of production and distribution to enable them to increase their sales.

If it had stopped there, the workforce would have been reduced by about a third but there still would have been 130,000 meatcutters earning great middle-class incomes. The new efficiencies and reductions in workforce helped the productivity of each remaining worker to rise by 2.8 percent each year between 1967 and 1982. That was nearly a half percentage point above improvements in all U.S. manufacturing and should have supported pay raises, or at least protected previous gains.

But the new companies wanted to drastically reduce the wages. If they could do that, they surely

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would be able to take market share from the huge packing companies that had controlled the industry for decades and which were locked into major, high-wage contracts with the unions.

At first, the new companies could lower wages on some of their jobs by using another standard free-market device: They placed plants where there were pockets of rural underemployment and where residents were willing to work for lower, non-union wages, especially in states like Kansas and Nebraska with laws unfavorable to union organizing.

The new companies soon ran into problems, though. There wasn't anywhere close to enough surplus labor in those potential sites to make it possible to move much of the industry away from the urban areas. Recruiters found it was not easy to entice American workers to move to new states for low non-union wages. And the many existing plants in rural areas like Storm Lake already were unionized. The wages of most workers in the industry continued to rise along with their per capita productivity.

Up to this point, the free market system was operating in a normal way, with labor and new entrepreneurs and the other owners of capital jockeying for their best position within the established boundaries of the American economy. Supporters of the system claim that it produces the most overall good for society, balancing benefits and incentives for consumers, for business and for workers.

But the federal government brought in an outside force that would change all the rules of business and tip the tables against the old companies and against American workers.

Congress in 1965 inadvertently came to the rescue of the union-busting, wage-lowering strategy of the new meatpackers. The 1965 immigration law had a major impact on the direction of the meat processing industry by creating surplus labor pools with spiraling family chain migration and massive refugee resettlement operations.

The state of Iowa ran one of the most aggressive Southeast Asia refugee programs in the country. In a devastating lack of insight into the way labor markets always have worked in this country, the Iowa government failed to see that with its refugee program it was importing a foreign laborforce large enough to undermine its own citizens, especially in eliminating the middle-class meatcutter jobs in Storm Lake, Spencer and many other Iowa cities. The growing number of Southeast Asian refugees eagerly took meatcutter jobs at half the wages and at reduced benefits while working faster lines with much less attention to safety. They were especially valued by industry because — with minimal skills, education and English — they had few alternatives and were unlikely to quit and go back to their home country, says anthropologist Janet Benson of Kent State University.

The Southeast Asians changed the labor market in the small towns of Iowa. They created their own recruiting networks and began to set the terms by which new workers moved into plants through such conditions as posting bonds, giving kickbacks or providing sexual favors to personnel managers, says anthropologist David Griffith of East Carolina University. .

"The use of immigrants was a blatant and obvious attempt to undercut the labor movement," says historian Ken Cox of Northern Iowa University.

Playing Fair with Good Plants

During the 1970s, the old packing companies were in a bind. Washington's new immigration policy and the upstart challenger companies were forcing them to lower their workers' wages, regardless of whether they wanted to.

Over in Storm Lake there were few immigrants. But the Hygrade plant there had to compete with plants that had many. Ted Kramer recalls that during the 1970s "we had to fight every contract because Hygrade would say that over in Dakota City and South Sioux, IBP was paying half the wages." Even though some plants had unions, the presence of a lot of immigrants had sapped them of much aggressiveness or clout.

Up in Austin, Minnesota, the changing conditions caused the paternalistic Hormel Company to change its community personality. According to a team of scholars led by Robert A. Hackenberg:

> *The Hormel family, company executives, supervisors, line and clerical workers earned annual salaries within a few thousand dollars of one another. Their children played together, learned together, celebrated rites of passage together. George Hormel and his family lived in Austin, participated in community events alongside the women and men*

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who bloodied butchers' aprons in his plant. Hormel's union-negotiated wages and incentive programs allowed line workers and bosses alike to live in Austin's middle-class neighborhoods.

But beginning in the 1960s, Hormel realized it would have to begin demanding wage concessions if it was to survive the competition of the wage-cutting companies.

The federal government — through its immigration program — was having the opposite effect from what one normally expects from government. Usually, citizens look to their government to set up systems that provide incentives and rewards for behavior that benefits the people, and disincentives for behavior harmful to the community of citizens. At least, we expect the government not to rig the free market against the ordinary man and woman. As long as all businesses have to play by the same rules, such governmental incentives and disincentives tend to enhance the public good without restraining commerce.

Mass immigration turned those incentives and disincentives upside down. It was rewarding companies that offered low wages and poor working conditions to American citizens. And it was penalizing companies that provided for a middle-class lifestyle. By providing unending laborforce and population growth for 30 years, immigration has rewarded sweat-shop owners, land speculators, unscrupulous developers and other environmental marauders while disadvantaging business owners who have tried to be fair and caring employers and good corporate citizens. In highly competitive industries like meatpacking, "good" employers were forced to adopt the practices of "bad" employers if they were to remain in business.

For decades, federal immigration law kept the playing field level in a game that enabled larger and larger portions of Americans to earn middle-class wages. Under that system, U.S. corporations could do the right thing for American workers and communities without jeopardizing their profits.

With the 1965 immigration act, Congress changed the rules without intending to and tore the social contract between management and labor asunder.

Inevitably, the question arises about whether an industry can keep paying middle-class wages now that global competition is so much more intense. If not allowed to use foreign workers and to slash wages, might not an industry have to move its plants overseas to keep from being run out of business by foreign companies?

"There have been whole conferences on whether meat processing might move off-shore," says industry expert Stull. "The consensus has been that for beef and pork, and for most chicken, they aren't going off-shore."

The reasons are fairly simple. The primary cost is the animal, and slaughtering needs to occur near where the animal is raised. Cattle are traumatized when they are shipped more than 150 miles; they release enzymes that darken meat and make it less marketable. So, American farmers are not going to ship cattle and hogs to slaughterhouses in other countries.

How about other countries raising and slaughtering livestock and shipping it here? First, it is important to remember that most countries depend on the United States for food. Secondly, the price of labor in the United States would have to rise greatly before it would justify the extra shipping costs for most processed meat from other countries, except perhaps for Canada and Mexico. Of the two, only Mexico has low enough labor costs to provide a competitive advantage. But Mexico lacks the transportation system that would make it possible to do large-scale beef processing for the United States, Stull says: "The cheaper labor in Mexico doesn't save enough to make up for distance and poor transportation to where Mexico grows the beef."

In short, global competition did not force the industry to slash the pay of meatcutters and would not likely preclude raising wages now to attract American workers if Congress were to declare a moratorium on future immigration.

Stanford economist Paul Krugman says it is nonsense to blame the global economy for lowered wages. In 1991, only 10 percent of the U.S. product was in exports. Krugman states that 76 percent of all U.S. output consisted of services and that most services are insulated from global competition: "Although we talk a lot these days about globalization, about a world grown small, when you look at the economies of modern cities what you see is a process of localization: A steadily rising share of the work force produces services that are sold only

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within that same metropolitan area."

The fate of U.S. workers is in the hands of American policymakers, not some faceless global economy.

Competition Supplied By Congress

By the 1980s, the new meatpackng companies weren't so small anymore. Bringing cheap immigrant labor into small towns across Kansas and Nebraska, they built enormous new plants as their lower labor costs allowed them to take larger and larger shares of the market from the old unionized firms.

The old companies slashed wages or declared bankruptcy. Wilson Foods Corporation filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy in order to abrogate its labor contracts. Then big conglomerates took over the meatpacking operations of Wilson, Swift, Armour, Morrell, Hygrade and Cudahy. Some slashed the pay of existing workers after taking over; others laid off union workers and reopened with non-union labor. In Columbus Junction, Iowa, workers voluntarily took pay cuts to help save the Rath plant, but it was closed in 1984, to be replaced by new low-wage plants.

In Storm Lake, Hygrade threatened to close operations in 1978. Then in 1981 it did, citing refusal of local workers to accept pay cuts of $3 an hour.

When IBP announced it would re-open the old Hygrade plant as its own, local bands met the company officials as they arrived in town. The real outlook was not so hopeful, though. The new jobs would pay only around half the wages of the ones just lost. After a year of unemployment since Hygrade's shutdown, however, more than 1,000 local residents stood in line when IBP started taking applications for the 350 jobs it was offering for start-up.

"A lot of us who worked at Hygrade applied for half-wages," says Richard Krout, who has been ringing up the cash register at the gas station ever since: "IBP fooled us. All along they said they were going to use local people. But the Laotians and Vietnamese came almost immediately. A few years later the Mexicans started."

There was no excuse for bringing in foreign workers into plants across Iowa, says professor Cox: "We had plenty of Iowans without jobs to do those jobs. In some towns, they may have been a little slow to take them because of their pride in wanting a better wage."

Rubbing salt into open wounds, the state government gave companies incentives to hire refugees over natives, the former meatcutters complain. In addition, the state gave some tax breaks to refugees. Kermit Hendricks complains: "We end up paying for them to take our jobs."

The human tragedy of the whole industry was played out on national television, the national press and an award-winning documentary in the form of the 1985-86 strike at Hormel in bucolic Austin, Minnesota. With most of the old high-wage packing industry in shambles, the workers at Hormel staged a last-ditch battle to save the middle-class, meatcutter lifestyle. But they were crushed by the power of Hormel, the state of Minnesota — which ordered the National Guard to protect strikebreakers entering the plant — and even their own national union which argued there was no chance for success.

Paul Larson, a veteran union organizer who is retired in Waterloo, says that, regretfully, the national union officials were correct that the writing was on the wall against the Hormel meatcutters. And the writing had been scrawled by the 1965 immigration act and the refusal of every Congress and president since then to stop its destructive power, he says. No company could remain a good employer to its workers in the old style as long as Congress provided its competitors with all the exploitable foreign labor it could use.

The old line packers are gone, replaced by the new Big Three — IBP, Excell and ConAgra Red Meats. And the meatcutters can no longer hope to earn incomes that once elevated them to solid middle-class status.

An assistant personnel director of one meatpacking corporation notes that of 1,400 retired meatcutters out of a plant in Dubuque, Iowa, not one of them has a child in the industry. A few aggressive corporations and a detached federal government with a careless immigration policy had succeeded in making it possible to say once again, with considerable accuracy, that tens of thousands of meat-processing tasks are jobs Americans won't do. □

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Reviews of Books and Films

Good Old Wine, New Bottle

Book Review
by Lawrence E. Harrison

Thomas Sowell has for more than fifteen years been among America's most politically incorrect — and influential — economists, importantly because of his belief that culture is a major factor in explaining why some national, ethnic, or racial groups do better than others, also because he is a black conservative. In *Migrations and Cultures — A World View*, recently published by Basic Books, Sowell stresses that some cultures are more progress-prone than others and that multiculturalism and affirmative action work against progress and unity in the United States.

Readers of *Ethnic America* (1981), *The Economics and Politics of Race* (1983), and *Race and Culture* (1985), are going to encounter a lot of familiar material in *Migrations and Cultures*. Sowell focuses on the performance of six immigrant groups — Germans, Japanese, Italians, Chinese, Jews, and East Indians — in destination countries all over the world. (All but the East Indians were the subject of chapters in *Ethnic America*.) His conclusion is that the success and prosperity of these groups in very different settings — for example, the Germans in Russia, Brazil, the United States, and Australia — is chiefly the consequence of cultural factors such as work ethic, frugality, emphasis on education, discipline, and sense of community, factors that also importantly explain why, using the same example, Germany itself is so prosperous.

Migrations and Cultures
By Thomas Sowell
New York:
BasicBooks 1996
516 pages. $30.00.

That parallel also works well for Japan and at least the north of Italy, less well for China (although its post-Mao economic performance is surely consistent with the astonishing achievements of the overseas Chinese), and not well at all for India. But Sowell documents the importance of tracing whence within India came the immigrants to East Africa, Malaysia, the United States, Trinidad, etc., concluding that those who were successful in India, like the Gujaratis, are those who have been most successful abroad.

The chapter on the Italians examines the striking differences between the achievements of the northern and southern Italians both at home and overseas and is particularly relevant for the United States today because the southern Italians have followed a path similar to that of the Latin Americans, and particularly Mexicans, who constitute the majority of legal and illegal immigrants into the United States in recent decades. The southern Italians and the Mexicans have not attached priority to education — school dropout rates for both have been high — and they have tended to remain in the blue collar class, in sharp contrast with the Germans, Chinese, Japanese, Jews, and East Indians, all of whom have valued education highly and have moved rapidly into the professions and business. Sowell points out that at the peak, Italians accounted for 1.5 percent of the American population. Today, Latin Americans account for almost 10 percent, Mexicans for almost 5 percent.

The chapter on Italy also underscores a gap in Sowell's scholarship that may result in the incorrect impression that what he is saying is being said for the first time. *Migrations and Cultures* contains 2,371 footnotes. But Sowell ignores some of the most

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important books that address the matters of principal concern to him. Religion is a key source of values in his argument, but Max Weber's name does not appear in the text. Nor does Edward Banfield and his *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*, a seminal cultural interpretation of southern Italy's backwardness (it is mentioned in a footnote). Nor does Robert Putnam's recent *Making Democracy Work*, a comprehensive examination of the differences between Italy's north and south with a strong message about the importance of culture.

After tracing the histories of the six ethnic groups, Sowell presents a set of conclusions several of which imply new or changed policies for the United States. His overarching conclusion is that "each group has its own cultural pattern — and ... these patterns do not disappear upon crossing a border or an ocean. Nor are these patterns always coextensive with national or racial groups. Among migrants from India, for example, Tamils have not had the same experience, either at home or abroad, as Gujaratis. Southern Italians have differed from northern Italians ... the skills, habits, and values which constitute the cultural endowment of a people usually play a powerful role in shaping the kinds of outcomes experienced by that people."

He argues, as I have, that cultural relativism is wholly inconsistent with the reality that some cultures produce more well-being and justice than others. He describes the idea that all cultures are essentially equal as "at best, a polite evasion of otherwise embarrassing differences in performance and, at worst, a distraction from the task of acquiring the requisite human capital behind other people's good fortune, instead of resenting that good fortune and attributing it to 'exploitation' of those who had precious little to exploit." Moreover, "Skills have never been evenly or randomly distributed, whether between ethnic groups, nations, or civilizations," which is relevant to Sowell's strong opposition to affirmative action. "Therefore academic standards, employment standards, and other criteria can no longer be dismissed as arbitrary impositions of barriers with 'disparate impact' by races, class, gender, or other social groupings."

"Sowell thus rejects the categories of 'haves' and 'have nots' in favor of 'doers' and 'do-nots' —and some cultures encourage 'doing' more than others."

Sowell goes on to argue, as I did in *Who Prospers?* that the disparities in well-being between blacks and whites in contemporary America are more the consequence of cultural problems than of discrimination. His tracing of the intensely discriminatory treatment of Chinese and Japanese immigrants in the United States serves as a backdrop for their high levels of achievement in the absence of political favors or preferential treatment, in contrast with the emphasis by many contemporary black leaders on such preferences. He reinforces his argument with some telling data: "Black American married couples with college degrees [are] at the same income level as white American married couples with college degrees. Even a quarter of a century earlier, black males raised in homes with books and library cards were at the same income levels as white males raised in homes with similar advantages and similar education."

Sowell thus rejects the categories of "haves" and "have-nots" in favor of "doers" and "do-nots;" and some cultures encourage "doing" more than others. When immigrants from a passive culture move to a country of dynamic culture, "they gain a higher standard of living and a wider cultural exposure which they come to value and embrace." The multiculturalism that encourages the perpetuation of the values of passive cultures is thus contrary to the interests of both the immigrants and the new host society. Particularly inappropriate and costly are affirmative action programs for immigrants "set up ostensibly to remedy historic wrongs that occurred before contemporary immigrants arrived."

A disappointing aspect of *Migrations and Cultures* is Sowell's failure to address the broad issue of immigration. He does not discuss the impact of high immigration. He does not discuss the

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impact of high immigration levels, and particularly of uneducated, unskilled immigrants, on the prospects of poor citizens, on our population growth rate, on the environment. His treatment of the six ethnic groups may leave the impression that all immigrant groups can make it in the United States — and be a net asset for the nation — if we facilitate their acculturation to America rather than perpetuate their original cultures through multiculturalist policies and affirmative action. But the main current of the book drives home the idea that some cultures are more progress-prone than others and that some immigrant groups do better than others.

The need for disaggregation by ethnicity or national origin of the immigration flow is an important contribution to the immigration debate. Disaggregation will help to explain Francis Fukuyama's pro-immigration stance (Japanese immigrants have done extremely well in America) in contrast to the anxious stance of Richard Estrada (Mexican immigrants have *not* done very well). And Sowell correctly defines the dilemma with which his analysis leaves us: "... domestic ideological agendas may make it impossible to be selective in admitting immigrants from different nations, leaving as alternatives only loss of control of the border or restrictive policies toward immigrants in general." Probably the best that can be realistically sought is a new policy that stresses the skills, education, and financial resources of immigrants. □

America's 'Republics'

Book Review
by David Payne

Michael Lind begins by distinguishing between 'nation-states,' which are political entities, and 'nations,' which are cultural entities. Thus, although the nation-state of Poland did not exist for some time in the 18th century, the Polish nation continued to exist, and now exists once again as a nation-state as well. Yugoslavia, on the other hand, was a nation-state, but was never a nation. Instead, it was composed of many different nations. There was never a "Yugoslavian people."

There is an American nation, according to Lind, which did not begin with the nation-state called the United States, but some time before that. "A real nation is a concrete historical community, defined primarily by a common language, common folkways, and a common vernacular culture" (p.5). Lind argues that the American nation should not be defined in terms of race and religion, but rather in terms of language and culture. This view he calls "liberal nationalism," and acceptance of it leads to a different view of the American past, for it disavows the democratic uniqueness or *essential* superiority of the American nation along with the use of such ideas for engendering patriotic fervor. "One should cherish one's nation, as one should cherish one's family, not because it is the best in the world, but because, with all its flaws, it is one's own" (p.10).

The Next American Nation — The New Nationalism and the Fourth American Revolution
By Michael Lind
New York: The Free Press, 1995
436 pages, $25.00

There have been three republics so far in American history, and Lind argues that we need a (bloodless) revolution to usher in a fourth. These republics are described as follows:

I. The First Republic: Anglo-America

The First Republic is composed of the Anglo-American race and the Protestant religion due to the original majority composition of the founding fathers. Federal Republicanism was the political creed — an almost non-existent federal government, with political parties based on loose coalitions of "courthouse gangs" such as Tammany Hall,

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etc. Irish, Jews, and blacks, all were effectively excluded from this nation.

The first republic was held together by what Lind calls the first grand compromise. This informal, extraconstitutional device had two parts: first was the custom of admitting one slave state for every free state (sectional balance of power); second was the fact that all national parties accepted the legitimacy of slavery (since each party had a Southern wing). "The electoral success in 1860 of the Republican party, the first purely sectional political party (Lincoln did not receive a single Southern electoral vote), signaled the repudiation of this bargain by a majority of Northerners" (p.37).

The grand strategy of the first republic was the enlargement of the empire of liberty — manifest destiny, a mission from God to expand the nation of virtuous, republican, Protestant Anglo-Saxons, a master race possessed of the true principles of government and religion. It was shaped by the dispropor-tionate influence of the Southern Planter class, who saw themselves as the heirs of English aristocracy; but it turned out to be a rickety federation that collapsed as a result of its own successful expansion. This in two senses: first its successful expansion brought the slave vs. free state controversy to a head; but second, and more importantly, the physical expansion of the nation meant that it had to be filled with people. In this sense the first republic was destroyed by massive European immigration.

II. The Second Republic: Euro-America

The next phase of American history is dominated by a northeastern elite that coalesced during the Civil War — a war which made the fortunes of those in the Gilded Age and the political careers of the government leaders that followed. This new national ruling class was almost exclusively Anglo-Protestant, and set itself up as an aristocracy on the British model (in many ways more so than the Southerners had). The second republic was clearly based on a policy of White Supremacy.

Lind stresses how mass immigration changed the American nation. "The evidence suggests that the restriction of immigration in the 1920s increased the rate of assimilation among European-America groups. 'By drastically limiting the volume of European immigration,' one scholar has noted, 'the restrictive policy adopted in the 1920s accelerated the Americanization of those groups which had come earlier.' By 1960, when John F. Kennedy was elected the first Irish-American Catholic president of the United States, Ellis Island was a ruin. Only when it was effectively shut down did Ellis Island, along with the Statue of Liberty, become an idealized symbol of a (Euro-American) 'melting pot.'" (p.85).

Protestantism was still the accepted religion of the second republic. Catholics and Jews were accepted, but only at a price: the Catholics had to give up the notion that theirs was the true universal church, and the Jews that they were a chosen people in terms of ethnicity rather than belief. The political creed of the second republic was "federal democracy." This was a nation that presumed to lead the world into a democratic millennium. But such was not to be. Although more highly successful in its own right, achieving economic and then geopolitical primacy within the space of a few generations, white supremacy was so interwoven into the American fabric that it could not be removed without unraveling the nation itself — which is exactly what happened.

III. The Third Republic: Multicultural America

This is the present republic which began with the Civil Rights movement encouraging race neutrality, but has ended (as the founders lost control) with the triumph of group-consciousness and racial preference programs. Multiculturalism is neither merely an educational philosophy nor merely a proposal or possibility—it is the de facto orthodoxy of the present American regime.

Multicultural America is not a successful republic. To date there is no political creed of the third republic, i.e., "there is no generally agreed upon account of what the American community is, or how its place in the world or history should be conceived" (p.98). In essence, there is no popular support — no majority of Americans behind it. Multicultural America is divided into five arbitrary race categories, which are to be seen as permanently distinct communities. Those who criticize this categorization are, by definition,

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racists who wish to turn back the clock to the era of white supremacy.

The third republic is dominated by a white overclass, described by Lind as "a small group consisting of affluent white executives, professionals, and rentiers, most of them with advanced degrees, who with their dependents amount to no more than a fifth or so of the American population" (p.100).

There are two important trends in modern Multicultural America, both bad: the proliferation of racial preferences and the decline in average wages and benefits. Both of these serve the collective interests of the white overclass. Racial preferences are invoked because they tend to co-opt the potential leaders of black and Hispanic dissent, by creating a dependent (and small) non-white overclass that has the values of the white overclass. [Marx: "The more a ruling class is able to assimilate the most prominent men of the dominated classes, the more stable and dangerous its rule."] Such preferences are also much less costly "to affluent whites in general and the business class in particular, than expensive universal programs designed to improve the education and standard of living of the bottom half of the population, of all races. Compared to color-blind liberalism, racial preference is *cheap*" (p.179).

The decline in wages and benefits is nothing less than a war waged by the overclass against the transracial middle class American. This includes "forcing American workers to compete with exploited workers in Third World sweatshops, low-wage legal and illegal immigrants, and a rapidly growing pool of temp labor whose members lack job tenure, benefits, or union repre-sentation" (p.101). The result? stagnant or falling incomes for the majority, rising incomes for the overclass. The real middle class is not the two-car suburban elite, but rather the high school educated, economically insecure salaried class, whose members make up more than two thirds of the U.S. popula-tion. They are "non-unionized, at-will employees, lacking a four-year college education, paid by the hour, who can be fired at any time, and have few or no managerial responsibilities" (p.152).

Entry into the professional class, as opposed to the salaried class, is controlled by two institutions: [1] prestigious universities, who control, by tuition costs, those who enter, and [2] state systems of professional accreditation. Lind refers to these as the "primogeniture and entail" of the white overclass. Thus the American Bar Association sets the standards for lawyers, which includes long and expensive college training, making such a profession difficult for the underclass to attain (without help from the 'big house'). Add to these the high cost of campaign financing and you have insured that the overclass maintains political power as well. Is all of this just another conspiracy theory? No, Lind does not claim that the overclass has a conscious agenda. It is simply to their benefit to act as they do to preserve their favored status.

The underclass is also kept in line by maintaining high levels of immigration. "During the years that the political class has been almost unanimously in favor of present or higher levels of legal immigration, an overwhelming majority of Americans of all races have favored restriction, a fact that speaks volumes about the alienation of the American ascendancy from the majority's interests and concerns" (p.207). Mass immigration helps the white overclass mainly by its tendency to drive down wages for working class and working poor Americans.

The religious ethic of the previous republics has been replaced in the third republic by the ethic of authenticity. You are an authentic individual if you know in which of the five racial categories you belong, and you conform to the standards of that group. "To find yourself, you need only find your ghetto, and adopt its politics, its style of dress, and its approved beliefs about the world and humanity. Having done so, you can then demand that society at large recognize your individuality — that is to say, your abject conformity" (p.123). Anyone who believes that multiculturalism promotes a radical individualism is sadly mistaken. "Identity politics is meekest conformity, masquerading as anarchic rebellion" (p.124). Even the official black American culture is a construct. There is almost no African culture among black Americans, and so it had to be created. Indeed, the very idea of an 'African identity' is absurd — it is an identity itself constructed by

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non-Africans.

This is all made worse with immigration. "Like the racial preference system, today's policy of legal mass immigration emerged from the Civil Rights Revolution as an unintended consequence of what was intended to be a modest reform" (p.131). This mass immigration contributes to the rapid growth of groups eligible for racial preference benefits. "One wonders what James Farmer, the patron saint of quotas, would have said, if he had been told, in 1960, that by boycotting Northern corporations until they hired fixed numbers of black Americans, he was inspiring a system whose major beneficiaries would ultimately be, not only well-to-do white women, but immi-grants and the descendants of immigrants who, at the time of his struggles, were living in Mexico, Cuba, El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala" (p.135).

IV. The Fourth Republic: TransAmerica

The political creed of the fourth republic would be Liberal Nationalism. American liberal nationalism is the theory that America is more like Poland than Yugoslavia. "There is a transracial American nation which, like the Polish people, would continue to exist, even if the American nation-state, the United States of America, were wiped off the map" (p.259). What identifies an individual as a member of the American nation is [1] a common language — "There is more to the national culture than the national language, though the language is both the primary index of nationality and its major means of transmission" (p.265)—[2] common folkways, and [3] common knowledge. These are what make for an American — not race, religion or political philosophy. In fact, in abandoning race as the basis of nationality, liberal nationalism must place more emphasis on common language and culture. "Common sense on this subject tends to be warded off by ritual invocation of the cliché that we are 'a nation of immigrants.' In fact, the United States is not a nation of immigrants, and never has been. At no point in American history have people born abroad constituted more than a minority of the U.S. population. If 'the immigrant experience' defines what it means to be an American, then the overwhelming majority of Americans, sad to say, have missed out on the experience" (p.286).

The end of racial labeling should be accompanied by the abolition of all racial preference policies. Black leaders have squandered their money and clout. Now it is time for real solutions. The true minority problems are [1] active racism, which must be neutralized by rigorous enforcement of antidiscrimination laws; [2] barriers to entry in the economy and politics which must be dismantled by sweeping legislative reforms with respect to how business is done and how elections are carried out in the U.S.; and [3] acquired disabilities (the culture of poverty) which must be battled by liberating denizens of the ghettos and barrios from those environments. Racial preference is irrelevant to all of these solutions. In fact, it is dangerous since it lulls many into thinking something is being accomplished when it is not.

Lind's suggestions for the reforms needed in the Fourth American Republic include equalizing the voting power of the classes and introducing a new social market contract. Equalizing voting power can be achieved by [1] outlawing paid political advertisements; [2] introducing proportional representation in Congress which will effectively destroy the out-dated two-party system; and [3] either eliminate the Senate or turn it into a nationally elected body. The social market contract will include: [1] restricting immigration. "The most promising way to quickly raise wages at the bottom of the income ladder in the United States is to restrict immigration" (p.320). Not only does mass immigration drive wages down, it also retards the progress of automation by making it cheaper for corporations to hire immigrant workers than invest in labor-saving technology. Lind argues for zero net immigration. [2] The social market contract also includes imposing a social tariff in the amount of the difference between American and foreign wage rates in order to avoid the flight of U.S. manufacturing that might result from restricting immigration.

The ghetto problem is one of the worst to be solved, and here Lind proposes "unsubtle, crude, old-fashioned redistribution of wealth, through taxation and public spending" (p.325)

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but is vague about programs to eliminate the ghetto.

Lind points out that these and other suggested reforms may sound radical, while in fact they are conservative since they eliminate the factors within our constitutional system that are alienating an ever growing number of Americans.

This is an excellent book, dealing with cultures, multiculturalism, nations, immigration, economics, etc. Many of Lind's solutions may be exotic and/or idealistic, but they are, along with his analyses, nonetheless interesting, and seem to be born of a genuine compassion for the downtrodden within our society. □

Those Troublesome Suburbs

Film Review
by Gerda Bikales

The hit movie everyone in Paris talked about last summer is not yet gone from the scene. It no longer packs them in in the large cinemas of the Champs Elysee, but it continues to be shown daily at a small theater near the Centre Georges Pompidou, headquarters for all that is new and chic and with-it. And now, "La Haine" can be seen in the United States, where it is enjoying a limited distribution to favorable reviews under the title "Hate," a literal translation.

The film opened a year ago to tremendous publicity, having won the "Best Director" award at the Cannes festival for its young director, Mathieu Kassovitz. The stark black-and-white treatment of life in the immigrant suburbs of Paris, presented in the style of a documentary, attracted immediate and sustained attention.

To tell his story, Kassovitz has chosen three protagonists, young men from immigrant families who live in public housing projects on the outskirts of the city. The movie follows them for twenty-four hours after a local disturbance and confrontation with police that resulted in the death of a well-known neighborhood troublemaker. To give the viewer a sense of time going by, scene changes are punctuated with a digital display announcing the time of the action.

The main characters represent different worlds within the immigrant community: a wiry and voluble young Arab of North African descent named Said; Vinz, a tall and nervous Jew from a religious family of unspecified background; and Hubert, an athletic and engaging Black African. To avoid the sin of stereotyping, the film mixes up the usual expectations: it is the Black who is the most thoughtful and considerate in this trio, and the Jew who is the most impulsive and violent. To their credit, the actors performing these roles manage to rise above ethnic symbolism, breathing life and reality into the characters.

The main characters represent different worlds within the immigrant community [in the suburbs of Paris].

What is the story of "Hate?" Who hates whom? It's difficult to say. Vinz, Said and Hubert live in an environment in which love and civility are hard to come by. They are marked by an inability to relate to their families, to their suburban ghetto community, to the wider French world represented by Paris, just a subway ride away. The film seems to be a variation on the "buddy" genre, and yet these buddies are not good at relating to one another, either. There is a lot of compulsive talk — talk for the sake of hearing oneself talk — but little communication. It is implied that the police are both the haters and the hated, yet ambiguities abound. The police are shown as truly hateful — pleasant and helpful when dealing with the Parisian bourgeoisie; brutally devoid of any notion of civil rights in their handling of these alienated young people. No less than the suspects they are roughing up, the police too are dehumanized — mindless and out-of-control. In some encounters with authority one can't really tell whether the antagonists are plainclothes policemen dressed as thugs or a rival gang of ruffians.

The story is simple: three young men from a "disadvantaged" suburb, excited by a re-

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To Avoid Racism...

To avoid racism, we must regulate immigration. If you believe that human rights permit everyone to move to France, you are deliberately manufacturing ghettos with problems. If you are called a racist and compared to Hitler for saying this, then you will be quiet, but it isn't silence that will solve the problem. It will provide the opportunity for ineffective professional humanitarians to make pretty speeches, but that's all. It's inevitable, as some organizations live on indignation. For some of them, the non-solution of problems is their future.

— Distinguished political writer Jean-Francois Revel
From an interview in *Le Figaro*, February 15, 1996

cent shooting, wander through a bleak landscape of burned out buildings, broken glass, graffiti and garbage. Eventually they find a gun and the outcome from then on is never in doubt. The screen is filled with action, some of it violent, all of it pointless. The thrill of action is an antidote against the pain of inner emptiness and disaffection that eats at these young people.

The film meanders through several memorable scenes that allow for rich character development and lift the production out of the ordinary. The most startling scene takes place in a public toilet, where the group is greeted by a little old man emerging from a stall. In just a few seconds he tells them in Yiddish-accented French about a friend whose modesty in bathroom usage had doomed him to freeze to death during the Holocaust. What starts as bathroom humor turns quickly to tragedy. Like the viewers, the protagonists are at once touched and incomprehending.

In another scene, the young men decide to wander into an art gallery where a reception is in sull swing. They cause not a ripple among the sophisticated crowd of gallery habitues. Noticing some attractive young ladies, Hubert is delegated to approach them. The women are initially receptive to the imagined charms of these rough-and-tumble boys who don't know the conventions of cocktail party chatter. They quickly become unwelcome guests who are expelled with the help of the local constable.

French critics have remarked that the film is heavily influenced by American rap videos, especially the anti-police songs of recent years, such as Ice-T's "Copkillers." Certainly Americans will be familiar with the poverty portrayed in crammed public housing apartments, decaying streets and the quasi-uniform of baggy pants, knit caps, baseball jackets and expensive sneakers. But to this moviegoer "La Haine" brings back echoes of a much earlier European classic, "La Dolce Vita," which bespoke of the ennui and emptiness of the then-new privileged class of celebrities with their hangers-on at the dawn of a new age of affluence. Those stylish Romans may have looked for their thrills in elegant night clubs and ancient castles, playing with the occult rather than guns, but the frenzied attempt to escape from a spiritual void is the current that powerfully runs through both these films.

Since "La Haine" was released, talk about the problems of the immigrant suburbs has escalated, largely because of an alarming increase in school violence that has temporarily shut down several high schools and, for the first time, has brought police into others. For the French this is a shocking development for until recently the schools have been able to maintain a modicum of courtesy even as academic standards slipped.

In response to a badly deteriorating situation, the Chirac government plans to make major investments in job-creation schemes in some 700 "hot" suburbs. Will it work? If the American experience is any guide, large infusions of money are likely to yield but very modest gains at best. The truth is that we don't know how to give meaning to other people's lives. We can't seem to buy it with money, nor to will it with good intentions. And until we do, we can expect the world of "La Haine" to spread. □

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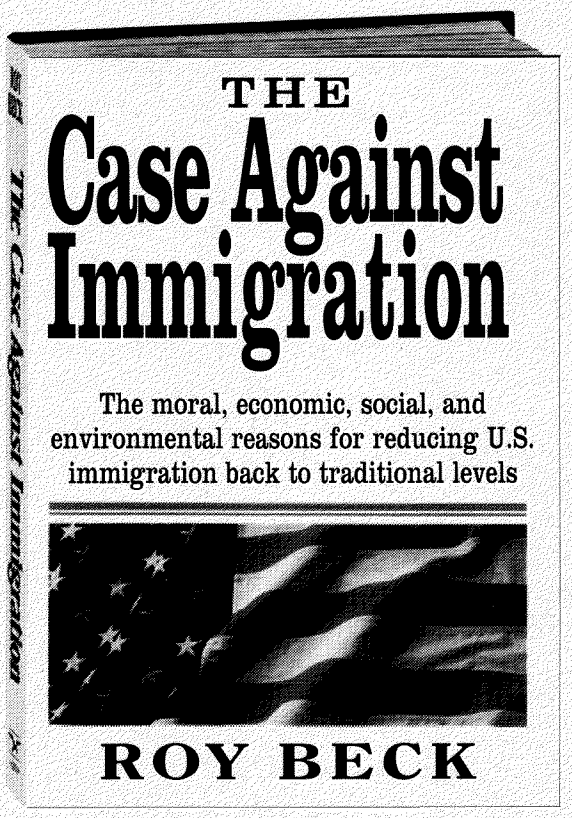
[This book] presents a powerful view that has been ill argued by opponents of immigration and largely ignored by the other side."

— Aaron Bernstein, *Business Week*


THE
Case Against Immigration
The moral, economic, social, and environmental reasons for reducing U.S. immigration back to traditional levels
ROY BECK

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